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No. 16, November 1977

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CONTENTS	PAGE
Opening Address by M. A. Suslov.....	1
Great October Revolution and Mankind's Progress (L. I. Brezhnev).....	4
To the Soviet People.....	22
To the Peoples, Parliaments, and Governments of All Countries.....	26
In These Great Minutes (Aleksandr Vermishev).....	29
Man Embodying the Future (Nikolay Proshunin).....	31
Beginning of the Moral Renovation of the People (V. Shishkin).....	44
Image of the Epoch (Chingiz Aytmatov).....	57
Historical Experience and Tasks in National Economic Planning (N. Zenchenko).....	63
Science in the Country of Liberated Labor (A. Aleksandrov).....	76
Great October Socialist Revolution--Turning Point in the History of Mankind (Erich Honecker).....	88

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
October's Lesson: Creative Application of Marxism-Leninism (Valeria Benke).....	99
Inextinguishable Light of October (Luigi Longo).....	113
Writer's Word (Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz).....	120
Present Stage in the Realization of the Advantages of Socialism (K. Mikul'skiy).....	122
Dedicated to the Great October (I. Chkhikvishvili).....	136
Important Party Matter (T. Boleslavskiy).....	149

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OPENING ADDRESS BY M. A. SUSLOV

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 77 pp 3-4

[Address by M. A. Suslov at the joint celebration meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and RSFSR Supreme Soviet]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Dear Foreign Guests!

We have gathered here today to celebrate the great and happy holiday of the Soviet people and the working people the world over--the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (applause).

The date 25 October (7 November) 1917 has become a historical landmark in the life of the peoples of our country and the development of the entire world liberation movement.

For the first time in history, led by the Bolshevik party headed by Lenin, the brilliant leader, allied with the toiling peasantry and the working people of all nations and nationalities in the country, the heroic Russian working class rejected forever the exploiting system of the capitalists and land owners, made a socialist revolution, and laid the beginning of a creation of a socialist society in our country, a society alien to exploitation, a society of true democracy and freedom for the working people and of boundless social progress (lengthy applause).

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened a new era in universal history, the era of the downfall of a social system founded on oppression, exploitation, and poverty of the toiling masses, an era of transition to a socialist social system in which the working people become the true masters of their fate and their life.

Our country and all progressive mankind welcome the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution under the sign of the outstanding victories of socialism, the triumph of the doctrine of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and the ideas of proletarian internationalism. Today the cause of the October Revolution lives in the universal-historical accomplishments of the fraternal socialist

countries, their strengthening cooperation and the new successes achieved by the communist and workers movements and the national-liberation struggle of the peoples.

The working people of the Soviet Union celebrate the great anniversary like Leninists and communists, in circumstances of universal enthusiasm and selfless toil for the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress. The entire life and events of the anniversary year and, particularly, the nationwide discussion and adoption of the USSR Constitution, demonstrated with new strength the inflexible unity of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and people's intelligentsia rallied around the communist party--the leading and guiding force of our social system (lengthy applause).

Today we find in this hall representatives of all the generations of Soviet people who became the builders of a new life. Allow me, comrades, to welcome warmly our great Leninist guard, the participants in the revolution and civil war, the shock workers of the first five-year plans, the heroes of the Great Patriotic War, and the heroes of today (lengthy applause)--all those who are continuing the exploits of the heroes of the October Revolution and are resolving the problems of the building of communism in our country! (Applause.)

Comrades! The October Revolution was born under the banner of proletarian internationalism and solidarity among the working people of all countries. Its victory opened the way to the radical reorganization of relations among nations and countries on the foundations of friendship, mutual understanding, equal cooperation, and peaceful coexistence.

We are happy to welcome among us guests--123 delegations from 104 countries throughout the world (applause).

Allow me to welcome fraternally the party-government delegations from the socialist countries--our loyal friends and allies who, hand in hand with the Soviet Union, are following the path of the October Revolution (applause).

We welcome most warmly the heads of communist and workers parties from the nonsocialist part of the world--like-minded people, our comrades and associates in the struggle for peace and socialism! (Applause.)

Allow me to welcome sincerely noted political leaders who have come to Moscow as heads of delegations of countries friendly with the Soviet Union, countries which were born as a result of the breakdown of colonial empires, and welcome the representatives of national-liberation movements and organizations actively and dedicatedly opposing imperialism and struggling for the full national liberation of their peoples and for social progress (applause).

We are happy to see in our celebration delegations from the socialist parties of many countries (applause).

We welcome all our guests--party and state leaders, and representatives of democratic social organizations and movements--who have come to our capital from all parts of the earth (applause).

Unity and good cooperation among the forces of peace, democracy, national liberation, and social progress is the lever with the help of which the working people on our planet will insure lasting peace and security, build a new happy life for the working people, and achieve the triumph of the ideas of socialism! (Lengthy applause.)

Comrades! Allow me to proclaim the joint solemn meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, dedicated to the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, open (lengthy applause).

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GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND MANKIND'S PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 77 pp 5-19

[Report by L. I. Brezhnev]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

Dear Foreign Guests!

These days the Soviet people, the communists in all countries, and all progressive mankind are solemnly celebrating the greatest of holidays. Sixty years ago the workers and peasants of Russia, headed by Lenin's party overthrew the power of capitalists and landowners. The first victorious socialist revolution in world history was made (applause).

The unforgettable October days rocked the entire planet. The new historical epoch began--the epoch of the revolutionary renovation of the world, the epoch of transition to socialism and communism. A path was opened followed today by hundreds of millions of people, a path which all mankind is destined to follow (applause).

We were the first. It was hard. We had to withstand a ring of hostile encirclement. We had to come out of age-old backwardness. We had to surmount the tremendous force of historical inertia and learn how to live according to new laws--the laws of collectivism.

Now, summing up the main, the decisive result of six decades of struggle and toil, we could proudly say that we withstood (applause), we stood firm (applause), we won (lengthy applause).

We won in the stormy and alarming times of the civil war and armed intervention, when the question of whether or not there would be a Soviet system was being decided.

We won in the headlong turbulent years of the first five-year plans, when the question was being decided of whether or not the workers and peasants of our country would be able to lay the foundations of socialism within the very short time granted them by history, and turn the homeland into a powerful industrial state.

We won in the hard firey years of the Great Patriotic War, when the question was being decided of whether or not socialism would be able to withstand the pressure of the shock forces of world imperialism and rescue mankind from fascist enslavement.

We also won in the complex and tense post-war years. In the circumstances of the cold war and the nuclear blackmail the destroyed economy was rapidly restored. Leading positions were gained in economic and scientific and technical progress.

For over 30 years the Soviet state has lived under conditions of peace (applause). A developed socialist society was created, exists, and is advancing--the result of the historical creativity of the masses (applause).

Honor and glory to the Soviet people, the victorious people! (Lengthy applause).

Honor and glory to all generations of Soviet people, men and women, communists and non-party members, who, sparing no efforts and energy and, if necessary, their own lives, elevated the homeland to the peaks of social progress! (Lengthy applause.)

We address our greatest and warmest words of gratitude and love to the veterans of the revolution. Fewer and fewer among those who stormed the old world in October 1917, under the banner of the Leninist party, are left among us. Yet, the greatness of their exploit is revealed ever more fully. Honor and glory to the October pioneers! (Lengthy applause.)

In these solemn days we speak with gratitude of the revolutionary solidarity which was invariably manifested toward the Soviet state by our class brothers abroad. Their firm actions frequently helped to defeat the aggressive intents of imperialism.

Long live proletarian internationalism--the powerful weapon of the working people of all countries! (Lengthy applause.)

I. The Soviet Union in the Vanguard of Social Progress

Comrades! Every time we celebrate the anniversary of the revolution we reinterpret the significance of the October Revolution, and the power of its influence on the course of history and the fate of the world.

Naturally, the October Revolution resolved, above all, the problems of our country, the problems posed to it by history and its specific circumstances. However, essentially these were not local but general problems raised by the course of social development and facing all mankind. The universal-historical significance of the October Revolution lies precisely in the fact that it opened the way to the solution of such problems and thus to the creation of a new type civilization on earth (applause).

The October Revolution proved that a radical change of the political foundations of society was possible. The Russian proletariat answered the most acute, the most vital political problem: Is the power monopoly of the exploiters eternal or could it and should it be replaced by the power of the working people.

Six decades of building socialism is the most vivid proof of what the working people can accomplish by assuming the political leadership of society and responsibility for the fate of the country. These decades proved that without the power of the working people, without a socialist statehood, and apart from it there have not been and there are no ways to socialism (applause).

With the victory of the October Revolution for the first time the working people acquired the possibility to put an end to exploitation and become free from the uncontrolled economic element. This key problem of social progress was resolved on the basis of the elimination of private ownership which was replaced by public ownership. The production anarchy yielded to the scientific planned management of the economy.

Within a minimally short time this huge backward country became a country with highly developed industry and collectivized agriculture. Our industry needs only two and a half working days to produce the same volume of output as was produced in the entire 1913 (applause). Our industrial output today is greater than the output of the entire world 25 years ago. The tremendous economic growth of the first socialist country in history is the result of the liberation of labor, the result of the work of people aware of the fact that they are working for themselves, for the common good (applause).

The October Revolution and socialism enriched the history of mankind through the experience of the spiritual emancipation of the working people. One of the "secrets" of the rule of the oppressors was always the fact that the spiritual coercion was added to direct physical coercion of the masses. The ruling classes did everything possible to hinder the access of the working people to education and culture. They kept them entrapped by false ideas and concepts. That is why the cultural revolution became the legitimate extension of the political revolution in our country.

In the life of a single generation the Soviet state rejected the heavy burden of illiteracy totally and forever. The working people became active participants in cultural life and creators of spiritual values. A new socialist intelligentsia emerged from the depth of the people, bringing fame to the homeland with outstanding achievements in science, technology, literature, and the arts. The meeting of which the best minds of mankind dreamed, the historical meeting between labor and culture, took place (applause). This was a turn of tremendous importance in the history of our country and of world culture (applause).

The solution of the national problem--one of the most sensitive and dramatic problems in the history of human society--plays a particular role among the achievements of the October Revolution.

Promoting the combat alliance among the working people of all nations and nationalities, the party and V. I. Lenin always defended the right of nations to self-determination and their total and unconditional equality. The victory of the October revolution was also a victory in the struggle for national liberation (applause). The peoples of former Tsarist Russia were the first to acquire the possibility for a historical choice, the right to determine their own destinies.

They made their choice. They voluntarily joined into a powerful union state and, relying on the selfless aid of the Russian people, firmly took the path of a new life (applause).

The power of the unification and mutual aid among the peoples gave a unique acceleration to the development of all republics. Hostility and mistrust in relations among nations yielded to friendship and mutual respect (applause). Wherever a mentality of national egotism had been implanted for centuries, internationalism became firmly established. The reciprocally enriched national cultures, forming the single Soviet socialist culture, gained new vivid colors.

The equality, fraternity, and inviolable unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union became a fact (applause). A new historical community--the Soviet people--came into being. A growing process of rapprochement among nations is imbuing all realms of life of our society. Such is, comrades, the outstanding result of the Leninist national policy and such is our experience whose universal-historical significance is unquestionable (lengthy applause).

The assertion of the principles of social equality and justice became the greatest gain of the October Revolution. We state with full justification that no society which has ever existed on earth has done or could do as much for the people's masses, for the working people, as socialism! (Applause.) Every Soviet person enjoys the full rights and freedoms which enable him actively to participate in political life. Every Soviet person has the possibility to choose his career in accordance with his vocation and capabilities, and to be useful to the fatherland and his people.

The conditions in which the Soviet people live and work are improving constantly. The Soviet citizen is unfamiliar with the degrading feeling of worry about the future, the fear of unemployment, and of lack of medical aid or of a roof over his head. Society protects his rights and interests and his civic and human dignity.

Conscientious toil, high civic-mindedness and ideological-moral qualities are the factors determining the status and prestige of a person in our country. This is an inexhaustible source of creative initiative and spiritual growth of the individual. This is the most convincing manifestation of social justice and social equality (applause).

The Soviet Union recently adopted a new constitution. It proved yet once again that all changes accomplished in our country are directed, above all, toward insuring for each person truly human living conditions. It proved yet once again, convincingly, that the concepts of freedom, human rights, democracy, and social justice assume a real meaning only under socialist conditions (applause).

Comrades! The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution led our country and people into the vanguard of social progress. Today, 60 years later, we are occupying a worthy place in its most advanced positions. We were the first on earth to create a developed socialist society and we are the first to build communism (lengthy applause).

Never before has our country had such tremendous economic and scientific and technical potential. Never before has its defense capability been so strong and so reliable (applause). Never before have we had such favorable possibilities to resolve the problems for whose sake, in the final account, the revolution was made--the upsurge of the prosperity of the masses, the development of socialist democracy, and the all-round development of the individual.

If you wish, the pathos of our days lies in the full realization of the possibilities of developed socialism. It is this that determines the measure of responsibility history has entrusted us today.

The party and its central committee are aware of this responsibility. The 24th and 25th CPSU congresses established the strategy and tactics of the building of communism and the present very important stage of our history. In the field of economics a course was charted toward an intensive growth of public production and of upgrading the effectiveness and quality of all economic activities.

Implementing this course, we have already achieved significant successes. Taking 1967 as a base, the year we celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Soviet system, we shall see that since then the economic potential of the country has practically doubled (applause). Quality changes are no less important, however. Scientific and technical progress is becoming an ever more effective factor in the development of the national economy. The latest production sectors are developing at a faster pace. Labor productivity is growing steadily.

In accordance with the party's course the development of the economy is being directed to an ever greater extent to the solution of the variety of problems directly related to the improvement of the living and working conditions of the Soviet people.

The solution of these problems is largely determined by the condition of the agrarian sector of the economy. We could boldly state that never before in the country's history so much has been done to insure the upsurge of

agriculture. The material and technical base and economy of the countryside were radically reorganized within a short time. Land reclamation, comprehensive mechanization, and chemization operations developed on an unparalleled scale.

We can already see the results of such tremendous efforts. Let me remind you that in 1967 we produced 148 million tons of grain, 11.5 million tons of meat, and about 6 million tons of cotton. Yet, this year, a year which is even below average in terms of weather conditions, we shall produce 194 million tons of grain, about 15 million tons of meat, and 8.4 million tons of cotton (applause). I think that such figures deserve our proper assessment (applause) even though we realize that not all agricultural problems have been resolved as yet. The party is adamantly working for this sector to meet in full the growing needs of the country.

The solution of a complex problem demanding tremendous funds--housing--has marked noticeable progress. One-third of the overall housing area built under the Soviet system were completed in the past decade (applause). One hundred and ten million of our compatriots experienced within that period the joy of moving into a new home (applause).

Substantial resources are being allocated to expand the production of consumer goods. In ten years our industry practically doubled such output and considerably renovated and improved it. Retail trade doubled. The demand of the Soviet people for a number of durable goods, until recently considered in short supply, is being met.

Economic growth enabled us substantially to raise wages and social consumption funds. Over the past 10 years the real income of the Soviet people increased 60 percent. Let me particularly note that within that time the living standard and way of life of the rural workers were enhanced considerably.

Each fact and figure characterizing the pace of our development is convincing proof of the tremendous possibilities of developed socialism. This was manifested with new emphasis in the course of the socialist competition dedicated to the October Revolution Anniversary (applause). The Soviet people assumed higher obligations and kept their word. They formulated counter plans which they not only fulfilled but over-fulfilled. The homeland thanks the participants in the anniversary effort, all those who welcomed the great anniversary of the Great Revolution with valorous labor! (Lengthy applause.)

Comrades! Giving its due to successes, we are also well aware of the fact that we face quite a number of problems and that a tremendous field of work lies ahead.

The main directions of our work and the specific tasks of the day were formulated at the latest party congresses and Central Committee plenums. Their decisions are known. They formulate new and higher requirements

governing the activities of cadres and the work of all working people. These requirements are related to the fact that the course of social development formulates ever more complex tasks in various fields of life. Yet, the more complex the tasks become the more complex is the work and the more important coordination, organization, and discipline become--anything which could be defined as high level organization.

High level organization at all levels and in all units of party, state, and economic management, and each work place is an absolute, a mandatory prerequisite for the solution of the problems set by the 25th Congress.

At the same time, it is also a very important prerequisite for the solution of problems we shall encounter in the future. At the very dawn of the Soviet system Vladimir Il'ich Lenin said that in order to insure rapid progress and in order to make our country powerful and abundant we have "materials and natural resources, manpower, and the splendid scope which the great revolution gave the creativity of the people . . ." ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 80) (applause). Today this is increased by tremendous economic and scientific and technical power and the rich experience in building a new life. We truly have everything necessary to advance confidently toward the cherished goal--communism--and reach ever new peaks of progress.

Yet, comrades, these are precisely peaks. Their ascension may be steep and difficult. In order to accomplish it with an optimum regime, to use the language of technology, today's plans must already be aimed at resolving the problems of tomorrow. This is precisely the way the party works (applause).

Our agrarian policy in particular is oriented not only toward current needs but toward the future. We are working for the radical solution of the food problem and the satisfaction of the growing needs of the country. We are doing this under circumstances in which both the population and its requirements are rising while the size of the land remains the same. That is why for the future as well we are planning the accelerated and intensive development of all agricultural sectors. That is why we are allocating and will continue to allocate extensive capital investments for agriculture and increase the capacities of industrial sectors serving the countryside.

The Nonchernozem Zone in Russia has been assigned a major role in these plans. This vast area in the very center of the country must become a zone of highly productive farming and animal husbandry (applause). It will considerably increase our food resources.

The other comprehensive programs elaborated in recent years are also directed toward the future. This includes, above all, programs for the development of western and eastern Siberia, the creation of the Baykal-Amur Main Line, and industrial and timber industrial complexes in the

Far East. They will meet the future needs of the national economy for petroleum, natural gas, coal, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, timber, and other raw materials. The implementation of these programs has also a profound social meaning. It means the development of many remote parts of the country where tens of new cities will be built and new cultural centers created. The very concept of "uninhabited area" will disappear once and for all from our vocabulary.

The firmness, constructive thrust and ideological tempering of the Soviet youth were displayed with particular strength at the great construction projects of our time (applause). Continuing the great traditions of their grandfathers and their fathers, Komsomol members, young men and women, are marching in the front ranks of the builders of communism. They are maturing in the course of the work and are learning how to manage the economy and administer social and governmental affairs. The future of the country is in their hands. We are confident that these hands are reliable (lengthy applause).

Thinking of the future, we ascribe great importance to science. Science will make a tremendous contribution to the solution of the most important problems in the building of communism. They include the opening of new sources of energy and of substitutes for many types of natural resources, the technical retooling of the national economy which would reduce manual and, even more so, heavy physical labor to a minimum, help in the upsurge of agriculture, and struggle against diseases and for expanding the span of human life.

The future of our economy lies in higher effectiveness. There is no other way for insuring the successful and dynamic development of the national economy. That is precisely why the party is pursuing and will firmly pursue a line of acceleration of scientific and technical progress, improved planning and management, increased organization and order at each work place and management unit (applause).

Looking into the future, we must draw yet another conclusion. The level of conscientiousness, culture, and civic responsibility of the Soviet people will play an ever greater role in all realms of life and development of our society. One of the most important tasks is to develop in man the aspiration toward lofty social objectives, ideological conviction, and a truly creative attitude toward labor. This is the line of the very important front of the struggle for communism. Our victories on this front will determine to an ever greater extent the course of economic construction and the socio-political development of the country (applause).

As you may see, we have many major problems to resolve. However, the power of socialism lies precisely in the fact that the new social system enables us not only to foresee such problems but the timely planning of their solution.

Comrades! The Soviet people are confidently looking into the future. They firmly know that life will become ever better, more beautiful, and more meaningful (lengthy applause). This is guaranteed by the selfless labor of millions of men and women inspired by the ideals of communism. This is guaranteed by the Leninist scientifically substantiated policy of the communist party (lengthy applause).

The highest reward for each one of us, communists-Leninists, is the fact that the Soviet people link with the party all their achievements and victories. This is understandable (applause), for the party is inseparable from the people. Its ranks number the best members of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and people's intelligentsia. It enjoys the infinite trust of the working people (applause).

Yet, comrades, the trust of the people is a demanding trust. That is why any party decision, any step taken in the fields of politics, and organizational and ideological-education work must be such as to strengthen even further the unity between party and people, and that the trust of the people in the party remain inflexible (lengthy applause).

Our party has everything necessary to remain on the level of its historical responsibility. We are inspired by a lofty objective--the good of the people. We have a rich and long experience in building the new life. Our manual for action is Marxism-Leninism--a science which contains all the achievements of the human genius. We are confident in our forces (lengthy applause).

The great path which was started in October 1917, the great struggle for communism is continuing. Vladimir Il'ich Lenin wrote: ". . . engaging in this struggle we must have the will to win and be able to point out the real way to victory" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 11, p 45). We want victory. We know the way leading to it. We shall win, we shall reach communism! (Tempestuous lengthy applause.)

II. October Changed the Shape of the World

Comrades! No single event in world history has had such profound long-term consequences to mankind as the Great October Socialist Revolution. The lightning of the October storm illuminated the path to the future for peoples of many countries. History rushed forth with seven-league steps.

The most important among the international consequences of the October Revolution which determined the aspect of our epoch is the appearance and the development of the world socialist system (applause). There was a time when the bourgeoisie, frightened by the victory of the October Revolution and its powerful impact on the minds of millions of people, tried to find the "hand of Moscow" in every revolutionary event in the world. Today few believe such children's stories. Revolutions break out and win by virtue of the internal development of a given country, by the will of its

people. The many victorious socialist revolutions in Europe, Asia, and America represented the continuation of the ideas and the cause of the October Revolution (lengthy applause).

As a result the practice of world socialism became broader and richer. Each of these countries, entering the path of socialism, resolved in its own characteristic way the problem of socialist statehood, the development of socialist history, the cooperation of the peasantry, and the ideological reeducation of the people's masses.

Unquestionably, the conversion to socialism of other peoples and countries with different levels of development and national traditions will bring about an even greater variety to the specific forms of socialist construction. This is entirely natural.

Yet, as life has shown, the common basic and inviolable features of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism remain and retain their power (applause).

The overall experience in the development of world socialism proves, in particular, the following:

The problem of power remains the main problem of the revolution. There is either the power of the working class allied with the entire toiling people or the power of the bourgeoisie. There is no third way (applause);

The transition to socialism is possible only if the working class and its allies, seizing factual political power, use it to eliminate the socio-economic domination of capitalists and other exploiters;

The victory of socialism is possible if the working class and its vanguard--the communists--are able to inspire and rally the toiling masses in the struggle for building a new society and for reorganizing the economy and all social relations on a socialist basis;

Socialism can be established only if the rule of the working people is able to defend the revolution against all attacks launched by the class enemy (such attacks are inevitable from within and, rather from without as well).

These are merely some of the lessons drawn from the contemporary development of socialism. Once again they confirm the great international significance of the experience of the October Revolution despite all its characteristic conditions. Once again they confirm how right V. I. Lenin was when he wrote that " . . . the Russian example shows something to all countries, something quite essential for their inevitable imminent future" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 41, p 4) (applause).

However, world socialism has gained a different type of experience as well proving that retreat from the Marxist-Leninist course and proletarian internationalism inevitably turns into failures and severe trials for the people.

We are well familiar with the severe consequences experienced by China as a result of attempts to ignore the economic laws of socialism, abandon the friendship and solidarity with the socialist countries and ally itself with the reactionary forces in the world arena. The socialist gains of the Chinese people have been seriously threatened.

Today some capitalist leaders are clearly relying on the fact that the current conflicts and alienation between the PRC and the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will last a long time and will even become aggravated in the future. We consider this a short-sighted policy and that those promoting it will be mistaken (applause).

We shall not try to guess the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations. Let me merely state that our repeated offers to normalize them remain effective.

Comrades! The new relations which have developed among the socialist countries and, above all, among the members of the socialist comity, thanks to the internationalist policy of the fraternal parties, are a major contribution of the world socialist system to life in the modern world.

Our conscience is clear when we say that our alliance, our friendship, and our cooperation are an alliance, friendship, and cooperation among sovereign and equal states, united through the common objectives and interests and ties of comradely solidarity and mutual aid (lengthy applause). We are marching together, helping one another, combining our efforts, knowledge, and resources for the sake of the fastest possible progress (applause).

We have charted a course toward the joint resolution of the problems of raw materials, fuels, power, food, and transportation. We are increasing specialization and cooperation, particularly in machine building, on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements. We shall continue to resolve these problems reliably and economically, and on a long-term basis. We shall resolve them understanding the interests and needs of each fraternal country and of the entire comity (applause).

Comrades! In that distant October of 1917 the workers and peasants of Russia stood up alone against the old world--the world of greed, oppression, and violence. They built socialism in a country surrounded by hostile imperialist forces. They built and defended it. Today we are no longer alone. Our country has become part of the great family of socialist states (applause). Therefore, to us, Soviet communists, and all Soviet people, could there be anything closer in the world around us than this socialist family? (Applause.) We are doing everything possible to achieve its blossoming and our common good! (Lengthy applause.)

It would be difficult to overestimate the tremendous influence which our October Revolution had on the development of the national-liberation movement.

It was precisely the victory of the October Revolution that truly awakened the awareness of colonial peoples and enabled them to achieve tremendous successes in the struggle for liberation from imperialist oppression. As early as 1919 V. I. Lenin said: " . . . the liberation of the peoples of the orient is now entirely realistically achievable . . ." ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 39, p 321).

After World War Two, and after our victory over fascism, over two billion people rejected the yoke of the colonizers and gained independent statehood. As a whole the imperialist colonial system in its classical forms can already be considered abolished. This, comrades, is a phenomenon of universal-historical significance (lengthy applause).

The fact that many of the liberated states are rejecting the capitalist way of development and set as their goal the building of a society free from exploitation, turning toward socialism, is exceptionally important.

In the socialist countries these states find loyal and reliable friends ready to give them all possible aid and support in their progressive development. This support is not only moral and political but economic and organizational, including assistance in strengthening their defense.

The path of the fighters for freedom is difficult. Adamant work is needed to lay the foundations of a public economy as needed for socialism. Fierce clashes with exploiting elements and their foreign protectors are inevitable. Sometimes they lead to zig-zags in the policy of the young states and occasionally even take the movement back. However, the general trend of development is unquestionable. The will of millions of working people aware of their objectives and place in life is a reliable prerequisite for strengthening national independence and the final victory of a social system free from exploitation and oppression (applause).

Naturally, all this does not mean that imperialism has reconciled itself with such a course. No, some of its positions in the former colonies are still very strong and the imperialists are doing everything possible to retain them and, wherever possible, to deepen and broaden them.

Today they can not simply engage in direct armed intervention in the affairs of the liberated countries. The last such big action--the war which the United States waged against the people of Viet Nam--ended in a crushing and shameful defeat sufficient to eliminate the desire to repeat such adventures (lengthy applause).

Attempts to involve the young countries in imperialist military blocs are meeting with increasing opposition. The non-alignment movement is a confirmation of this fact.

Equally unhelpful to imperialism would be attempts to use reactionary regimes it has set up or bribed in the former colonies, for such regimes can offer their peoples nothing other than new forms of dependence on that same imperialism.

Even when the very first waves of the national-liberation struggle of the peoples were rising in the oriental countries, V. I. Lenin wrote: "... no forces in the world will restore the old serfdom in Asia or wipe off the face of the earth the heroic democracy of the people's masses in the Asian and semi-Asian countries" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 23, p 3) (applause). Today we can confidently state that no forces in the world would wipe off the face of the earth the results of the heroic liberation struggle of the multimillion strong masses of the former colonies and semi-colonies of imperialism. The cause of the liberation of the peoples is insurmountable and the future belongs to it. The light started with the October Revolution will not fade on this front of world history as well (lengthy applause).

Comrades! The victory of the October Revolution opened a new stage in the struggle waged by the international workers movement.

The building of socialism in the USSR and, subsequently, in other countries contributed to the growth of the political maturity of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. The organization of its ranks improved. A force called upon to play a great role in history--the international communist movement--has developed. The front of the allies of the proletariat in the struggle against monopoly rule and for democracy and socialism has broadened.

Meanwhile, capitalism is showing itself to be ever more clearly a society without a future. Its economy is chronically feverish. Technical progress is throwing out of employment such large masses of workers as to threaten with an upheaval its entire socio-political system. Prices are rising steadily and inflation remains the number one problem. The exposures of scandalous sinister political machinations, corruption, misuse of power, and gross violations of the law on the part of highest officials are exploding like bombs in one or another country, showing the corruption of the ruling class. A record growth of the crime rate is adding to the picture. All this means that the objective economic and socio-political prerequisites for a transition to socialism have reached a high level of maturity. The aspiration of the masses toward radical change is growing in the capitalist countries.

Naturally, the bourgeoisie is an experienced opponent. It changes its tactics and maneuvers. Through partial reforms it tries to strengthen its positions and weaken the gravitation of the masses toward socialism.

Under such conditions the communist parties are trying to improve the strategy and tactics of their revolutionary struggle. They are promoting the unification of all democratic forces in the struggle against monopoly rule.

Their theoretical stipulations in this connection contain interesting views even though probably not everything could be considered totally elaborated and unquestionable. This is understandable for it is a search. The only important thing is for it to follow the proper direction.

Whatever routes may be chosen, in the final account, the call of the communists is to lead the masses to the main objective, to socialism. The experience of the struggle for the victory of the October Revolution proved that in the course of revolutionary activities tactical changes and compromises for the sake of gaining new allies are entirely possible. However, we have become convinced of something else as well: in no case should principles be sacrificed for the sake of tactical advantages. Otherwise, as the saying goes, you may keep your hair but lose your head (laughter, applause).

The greater the influence of the communist parties becomes the more actively does imperialism try to make the communists abandon the true way. This is being done either grossly--through pressure and threat--or more refinedly. Occasionally promises are given to the communists in the bourgeois countries to "acknowledge" their "right to a place in society." In exchange, a "trifle" is demanded: they are asked to abandon the struggle against capitalist power and for socialism and their international class solidarity. However, the communists have long gained their position in society. They have gained it precisely through their revolutionary struggle. Their role in society has been acknowledged by the peoples and no one can remove it! (Lengthy applause.)

The imperialists would like very much to undermine the unity within the communist ranks. To this purpose, in particular, they are zealously promoting the false version to the effect that the communist parties of the socialist countries, the CPSU in particular, are imposing upon the western communists their own prescriptions for the socialist reorganization of society. This, however, is an obvious falsification.

Like all Marxist-Leninist parties, our party firmly supports the principles universally accepted by the communist movement: equality, independence, non-interference in domestic affairs, and solidarity and mutual support among communists of all countries.

Today, celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the our Revolution, we, the communists of the Soviet Union, state once again that we shall always remain loyal to the great fraternity of communists throughout the world! (Stormy applause.) We warmly wish the greatest possible success to the communist and workers parties and their allies fighting capitalist dictatorship and for freedom, peace, and social progress (applause). You can always rest assured of our friendship, solidarity, and support! (Lengthy applause.)

Comrades! The Soviet system was born under the sign of the Leninist Decree on Peace. Since then the entire foreign policy of our country has been imbued by love for peace. Objective historical conditions have dictated its specific content: the course of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

In our days the principles of peaceful coexistence have become quite strongly rooted in international affairs as being the only realistic and sensible ones. This is the result of the changed ratio of forces in the world and, above all, the growth of the power and international prestige of the Soviet state and entire socialist comity. It is the result of the successes achieved by the international workers movement and national liberation forces. Finally, it is the result of an understanding of the new realities of a certain segment of the ruling circles of the capitalist world.

At the same time it is the result of the tremendous work done of late by the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity aimed at the restructuring of international relations in a peaceful direction (applause).

The good changes in the world which became particularly tangible in the 1970's have been described as detente. These changes are tangible and specific. They consist of the recognition and codification of international documents in a kind of code of rules governing honest and just relations among countries. This erects a legal and moral-political obstacle on the path of lovers of military adventures. They consist of the reaching of initial, even though still modest, agreements blocking some channels of the arms race. They consist of a widespread network of agreements covering many fields of peaceful cooperation among countries with different social systems.

Changes for the better are most clear in Europe where good neighborly relations and relations of reciprocal understanding of interest and respect among peoples are strengthening. We highly value this achievement, considering it our duty to safeguard and strengthen it in all possible ways. That is why we ascribe great importance to cooperation with countries such as France, the FRG, Britain, Italy, and all big and small European countries affiliated with a different social system.

Naturally, we ascribe great importance to relations with the United States. Many things separate our countries, ranging from socioeconomic system to ideology. Not everyone in the United States likes our order and we too could say a great deal about what is taking place in America. However, emphasizing divisions and attempting to lecture one another would merely increase mistrust and hostility. It would be useless to our two countries and dangerous to the world at large. At the dawn of the Soviet state Lenin cautioned the then American leaders that "whether they like or not Soviet Russia is a great power," and that "Wilson's policy of pious refusal to deal with us because they did not like our government would not benefit America" ("Leninskiy Sbornik XXXVII" [Leninist Collection XXXVII], p 254). This was valid half a century ago. It is the more valid today (lengthy applause).

It is required by life itself for Soviet-American relations to be based on long-term considerations and dictated by concern for the peace. This is the policy we follow. This is also what we expect in return. There is no

shortage on our part of the willingness to continue the initiated development of relations with the United States on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

Today international relations seem to have reached a crossroads leading either to the growth of trust and cooperation or to the growth of reciprocal fear, suspicion, and stockpile of weapons--roads which, in the final account, lead either to lasting peace or, at best, to teetering on the brink of war. Detente enables us to choose the path of peace. It would be criminal to waste this opportunity. The most important, the most urgent task today is to stop the arms race sweeping over the world (lengthy applause).

Unfortunately, the stockpiling of arms goes on, assuming ever more dangerous forms. New varieties and types of mass destruction weapons are being created on the initiative of someone we know well. Yet, each new such type is an equation with several unknowns not only in terms of military-technical or strategic but political consequences as well. The shifting from one type of weaponry to another, apparently based on the naive hope of retaining the monopoly of such weapons, only urges on the arms race, intensifies reciprocal mistrust, and hinders the implementation of disarmament measures.

In this connection I would like to confirm most emphatically an idea already expressed in the past. The Soviet Union is effectively concerned with its defense. However, it is neither striving nor will strive for military superiority over the other side. We do not wish to disturb the rough balance of military power which has developed now, let us say, between east and west in Central Europe, or between the USSR and the United States. In exchange, however, we require that no one else would disturb it to his advantage (applause).

Naturally, maintaining the existing balance is not a self-seeking aim. We are in favor of beginning to lower the curve of the arms race, and gradually reduce the level of military confrontation. We wish the threat of a nuclear war to be substantially reduced and, subsequently, eliminated, as it is the greatest danger facing mankind. This is precisely the purpose of the well known proposals submitted by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

Today we call for taking a radical step: reach an agreement on the simultaneous termination of the production of nuclear weapons by all countries. This would include all such weapons--atomic, nuclear, or neutron bombs or projectiles. At the same time, the nuclear powers could assume the obligation to undertake the gradual reduction of existing stockpiles and move toward their complete "100 percent" elimination. In the year of its 60th Anniversary the Soviet state turns to the governments and the peoples with the appeal of using the energy of the atom exclusively for peaceful purposes.

Yet another important problem directly related to reducing the danger of nuclear war exists. It is a question of bringing to a successful end the cause of banning nuclear tests, so that such tests be abandoned not only in the atmosphere, outer space, or under water, but underground as well. We would like to further the talks on this matter and reach their successful completion. That is why we state that we are ready to reach an agreement that along with imposing a ban on all nuclear weapon testing for a certain period of time a moratorium on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes be proclaimed as well. We hope that this important step taken by the USSR will be properly assessed by our partners in the talks, thus clearing the way to the conclusion of a treaty long awaited by the peoples (applause).

The Soviet Union is confidently following the path of peace. We support actively and adamantly the fact that the argument between socialism and capitalism be resolved not on the battlefield or the armament conveyor belts but in the realm of peaceful toil. We wish that the borders dividing these two worlds be crossed not by the tracks of nuclear missiles but by the ties of extensive and comprehensive cooperation for the good of all mankind (applause). Systematically pursuing this policy we are implementing one of the main slogans of the October Revolution and of Lenin's legacy: Peace to the Peoples! (Applause).

Should the main problem--that of preventing a new world war and insuring a lasting peace--be resolved, this would open new outstanding possibilities for the people on earth. Prerequisites will appear for the solution of many other vitally important problems facing mankind today.

What are these problems?

They include, for example, the need to supply huge masses of people with food, raw materials, and sources of energy. According to estimates at the end of the century the population on earth will grow from four to six billion people. Furthermore, they call for surmounting the economic backwardness of Asian, African, and Latin American countries, created by colonialism. This is necessary for the normal future development of relations among countries and, in general, for the progress of all mankind. Finally, they include the protection of man from the many dangers created by further uncontrolled technical development or, in other words, the preservation of man's natural environment.

These are entirely real and very serious problems. Their gravity will increase with every passing decade unless we find their most sensible collective solution through planned international cooperation.

Today's world is socially heterogeneous. It consists of countries with different social systems. This is an objective fact. Through its internal development and approach to international relations the socialist part of the world is providing a good example of the best ways for the solution of the big problems facing mankind. However, naturally, it can not resolve

them for all mankind. This requires the purposeful efforts of all peoples. It requires the broad and constructive cooperation among all countries and all nations. The Soviet Union is entirely in favor of such cooperation. Looking deeper, this is the content of the foreign political course which we describe as the course of peaceful coexistence.

Comrades, friends! The gains of the October Revolution and the potential of socialism are today the most reliable guarantee for the further progress of mankind. The October Revolution is the banner of the great changes hoisted over the 20th century by the will and the hands of the toiling masses (applause).

We are marching toward an epoch in which socialism, in one or another specific and historically determined form, will become the predominant social system on earth carrying within itself peace, freedom, equality, and prosperity for all toiling mankind (applause).

This is no utopia or beautiful dream. This is a real possibility. You and us, comrades, are bringing it closer with every passing day through our toil and struggle. It is coming closer through the toil and struggle of millions of our contemporaries. This is also the continuation of the cause initiated by the October Revolution (lengthy applause).

Let us always be true to the banner of the Great October, the Red Flag of the revolution! (Stormy applause.)

Let the immortal Marxist-Leninist ideas shine ever more brightly over the world! (Stormy applause.)

Long live the great Soviet people! (Stormy applause.)

Long live our great party--the party of Lenin! (Stormy applause.)

Forward to the victory of communism! (Stormy and lengthy applause. All rise. Hails in honor of the CPSU and its Central Committee and shouts of "Hurray!" are heard in the hall.)

5003

CSO: 1802

TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 77 pp 20-22

[Address of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] Dear comrades!

On the day of the great 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and Soviet government greet you, dear compatriots, warmly and heartily, on the occasion of the great holiday, wishing you new creative accomplishments in work, study, and military service and joy and happiness in life!

The Soviet people are welcoming the October Revolution Anniversary under circumstances marked by tremendous political and labor upsurge, as the holiday of free labor and of universal-historical victories of socialism. Thousands of production collectives and millions of working people fulfilled their assignments for the first two years of the five-year plan by 7 November 1977. Honor and glory to the labor heroes, the guardsmen of the five-year plan!

In October 1917, under the leadership of the communist party, headed by V. I. Lenin, the genius of revolutionary thinking and action, the workers and peasants of Russia overthrew the domination of the exploiters and seized the power. The October Revolution radically changed the fate of our homeland and proclaimed the advent of the new, communist era in the development of mankind. Together with us the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution is celebrated by the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and by all progressive mankind.

In the fiery years of the revolution and civil war, in the course of the building of socialism, and in the fierce battles against fascism the Soviet people displayed the greatest possibly loyalty to the cause of communism, unparalleled courage, and high feelings of patriotism and internationalism. The exploits of the heroes of the revolution, the shock workers of the five-year plans, and courageous defenders of the fatherland, of all those who did not spare their efforts and even their lives for the sake of its blossoming and the freedom and the happiness of the people will be remembered by history forever.

A powerful state--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--was created through the selfless struggle and tireless labor of the Soviet people. A society of a powerful and systematically growing economy, of steady upsurge in the prosperity and culture of the people, of socio-political and ideological unity among all class and social strata, and of inviolable friendship among nations and nationalities was built, a society of truly freeworking people.

The historical accomplishments of the country were legislatively codified in the USSR Constitution--the fundamental law of the first socialist state of the whole people in the world. "The new constitution," said L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, "could be described as the concentrated result of the entire 60 years of development of the Soviet state. It vividly confirms the fact that the ideas proclaimed by the October Revolution and Lenin's legacy are being successfully implemented." The constitution expressed the will and interests of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia of the working people of all nations and nationalities in our country. It is the real manifesto of the epoch of the building of communism.

After unanimously approving the constitution, our people proved with new strength that they entirely and fully support the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet state and the Communist Party and the purposeful and fruitful activities of the CPSU Central Committee and its politbureau headed by the loyal perpetuator of the great Leninist cause and outstanding fighter for peace and social progress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev.

Continuing the cause of the October Revolution and pursuing the Leninist party course, our country achieved outstanding successes in all fields of social life. In the past decade the country's industrial potential doubled. Agriculture reached a new level and the material and cultural standards of the people rose considerably.

The entire life of the Soviet society is marching under the inspiring influence of the ideas of the 25th CPSU Congress. The Soviet people look forward with profound optimism. Problems of tremendous historical importance are being successfully resolved: the material and technical foundations for communism are being laid, socialist social relations are being perfected, and conditions for the all-round development of the members of society are improving.

Guided by the immortal Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and developing it, our party is confidently laying a path to the future. Under Lenin's banner and the party's leadership we created a developed socialist society and are building and will build communism. The inviolable unity between party and people--the source of all our victories and the guarantee for the full triumph of communism--is strengthening!

The October Revolution and the living example of existing socialism are having a most profound impact on the course of world history. Marching with us are the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries. World socialism has become a powerful contemporary force. It is the bulwark of the freedom of the peoples and of the cause of peace and international security. The role and unity of the international working class are growing in the course of the class clashes with capitalism. The communist and workers parties are in the vanguard of the struggle of the working people. Under the conditions of the victories of socialism, the weakened positions of imperialism, and the strikes of the national-liberation movement the system of colonial slavery crumbled. Many peoples are taking the path of the socialist reorganization of society. The cause of the October Revolution is inspiring ever new millions of revolutionary fighters. It lives and triumphs. The future belongs to it!

Together with the fraternal socialist countries and with the support of all revolutionary and peace loving forces the CPSU and the Soviet government are adamantly fighting for the preservation and strengthening of the peace and for social progress. We shall continue to do everything necessary to insure peaceful conditions for the building of communism in our country, for asserting the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, and for preventing the threat of a new world war.

On the day of the great anniversary we turn to the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, people's intelligentsia, working women, valorous members of the Soviet armed forces, and our youth with the warm appeal to continue worthily the cause of the October Revolution, and tirelessly to strengthen the power of the great homeland and the friendship and fraternity among the peoples of the USSR!

We call upon them to raise even higher the banner of the nationwide socialist competition for the successful implementation of the Tenth Five-Year Plan, and for upgrading production effectiveness and work quality!

We call upon all working people adamantly to promote the steady growth of labor productivity, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and the more extensive utilization of the experience of leading production workers; we appeal to them to struggle for the rational utilization of the land, raw materials, fuel, electric power, metal, equipment, all materials, and every minute of working time!

We call upon all citizens to strengthen and develop the socialist way of life and to promote in every Soviet person high idea-mindedness, a communist attitude toward labor, and Soviet patriotism and internationalism. The strict observance of the USSR Constitution, the ever broader participation of the working people in the affairs of their state of the whole people, and the organic combination of the rights, obligations, freedoms, and responsibilities of the citizens to society are the guarantee of our new victories.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR Council of Ministers express their firm belief that the Soviet people, closely united around the Leninist communist party, will achieve new successes in the building of communism!

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the peace and friendship among the peoples!

Let our homeland--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--strengthen and prosper!

Long live the heroic Soviet people--builders of communism!

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union--the party of the great Lenin!

5003

CSO: 1802

TO THE PEOPLES, PARLIAMENTS, AND GOVERNMENTS OF ALL COUNTRIES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 77 pp 23-25

[Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] In the days of the solem celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and Soviet government address to the peoples, parliaments and governments of all countries a message of peace and good will.

Six decades ago a socialist revolution was made in a land spread across two continents--Europe and Asia--and the implementation of the cherished dream of mankind began: The building of a society in which labor is free from exploitation, where social justice reigns, and where friendship among the peoples triumphs instead of national discord.

The cause undertaken by our people and party was daring and unparalleled. Today, 60 years later, it is clear that in October 1917, led by the Bolshevik Party, headed by the great Lenin, the working class and working people of Russia took the right way to a new life. They were fiery revolutionaries and perspicacious builders of the new society.

All the reactionary forces of the old world turned against the first socialist revolution. They tried to crush our revolution with the fire and the sword, through hunger and blockade, to extinguish the torch which illuminated the entire world. In fierce battles with the forces of imperialism, reaction, and fascism, and at the cost of tremendous losses, and severe trials and privations our people defended their freedom and independence, the gains of the October Revolution, and the future of socialism.

The gigantic efforts of the Soviet people and their sacrifices and inflexible resolve yielded their results. We built a developed socialist society. We created the first country in the world in which the basic interests of the working people are reliably protected, where the rights and freedoms of all nations and nationalities and of every citizen are factually and fully guaranteed. The new USSR Constitution is the concentrated result of 60 years of development of the Soviet state.

The Soviet people are proud of their achievements. Today we set for ourselves new and even higher objectives. We are well aware of the complexity of the problems to be resolved. Closely rallied around the communist party and Soviet government the Soviet people are confidently marching toward the full implementation of the communist ideal which embodies peace, work, freedom, equality, and the fraternity and happiness of the peoples.

Those who followed the communist party and Lenin in October 1917 were consistent internationalists. They fought not for the happiness of their own people alone. The October Revolution sharply turned the course of world history. Following the Soviet Union the path of socialism and a socialist orientation were chosen by other countries in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa. The international workers and national-liberation movements achieved great political and socioeconomic successes. The colonial system was defeated. Big and small nations gained faith in their forces and their inviolable right to be masters of their own destiny. The general democratic movement is broadening and strengthening. The voices of peace-loving forces, progressive youth and women can be heard ever more loudly.

We greet most warmly and fraternally the peoples of the socialist countries with whom we are linked by common objectives and ideals and the ties of unbreakable friendship. We warmly greet the peoples freed from colonialism, following the path of national renaissance and social progress. We express our profound solidarity with the peoples continuing the heroic struggle for their freedom and independence. We send greetings to our brothers--the workers in the capitalist countries--fighting for their vital rights and interests.

Mankind has gone far ahead in the six post-October decades. The world has changed unrecognizably. Yet, today as well mankind is faced with the gravest problems awaiting a solution.

The achievements of the human genius and the infinite possibilities of scientific and technical progress can today insure every nation, family, and person a decent life. Yet, hunger, poverty, disease, illiteracy, rightlessness, fear of the future, and impoverished old age remain the share of huge masses of people in many countries. Many millions of people are doomed to unemployment and deprived of the natural right--the right to work. The vestiges of colonialism, fascism and racism have not been eradicated yet from the face of our planet. Finally and above all, the danger of a new world war has not been eliminated and nor has the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

The call for peace was inscribed on the banner of the Soviet state at its birth. For the past six decades the Soviet state has done everything possible to defend the peace. Steady struggle for peace against the arms race and in favor of general and total disarmament are the noble objectives of Soviet foreign policy codified in the USSR Constitution. Such is the will of our people well aware of the cost of "hot" or "cold" war.

In recent years, through the joint efforts of all those who care for the peace, a turn was achieved in international relations from confrontation to detente, mutual understanding and equal cooperation. However, there are no grounds for complacency.

Major obstacles remain on the path of detente. A thoughtless arms race is being accelerated and is becoming extremely dangerous. Militarism is not only wasting tremendous resources but creating a real threat to all mankind.

Those who promote lies instead of truth and hostility instead of friendship assume a heavy responsibility. Those who would like to go back to the cold war instead of pursuing a policy of peace are leading mankind to nuclear catastrophe. No alternative to peaceful coexistence exists or could exist in our century.

We turn to the peoples, parliaments, and governments of all countries with the appeal to do everything possible to put an end to the arms race, ban the development of new mass destruction weapons and undertake a reduction of armaments and armed forces, undertake disarmament!

We call for working adamantly to achieve the fastest possible and just settlement of explosive conflicts and the elimination of all hotbeds of international tension!

Peoples, working people, and people of good will of all countries! The cause of peace, detente, and social progress is a deeply common cause! Success depends on unity and resolve! The forces of war and reaction will yield to the united will for peace! They must be forced to yield!

On behalf of the 260 million Soviet people we solemnly proclaim:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, USSR Supreme Soviet, Soviet government, and our entire people will continue to strive most firmly toward consolidation of the peace and peaceful coexistence, the cessation of the arms race and the reduction of arms to the point of universal and total disarmament under strict international control.

The CPSU, USSR Supreme Soviet, and Soviet government, our entire people will continue to be on the side of those who defend the freedom and independence of the peoples and who support the noble ideals of communism and social justice.

Loyal to Lenin's legacy, the Soviet Union will continue systematically to follow the course of peace, democracy, and socialism!

5003

CSO: 1802

IN THESE GREAT MINUTES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 77 pp 26-27

[Poem by Aleksandr Vermishev]

[Text] Petrograd, 25 October 1917. The historical Dvortsovaya Square. Bolshevik Aleksandr Vermishev is among the attackers. In those great minutes he creates verses which today could be described as the poetic reporting of the storming of the Winter Palace:

It is drizzling, the wooden pavement
casts a reddish gleam.
Again bristling up with bayonets, Dvortsovaya
is raging, seething.
The spark of freedom has scorched
the wrecked earth . . .
All power to the Soviets!
Freedom, comrades!
The call spread over the country . . .
The past seems forgotten like a dream,
The bloody throne is down,
While over Dvorstovaya, its crest removed,
The double-headed eagle rages.
In the Winter Palace corrupt ministers
Urge on the people to war . . .
Eloquent speeches . . . paper promises
Starve the country.
The hour has come. The tyranny quivers
A pack of wolves . . .
Revenge for tears, pain, suffering,
The moaning of mothers and fathers!
Fight for the Soviet!
For proletarian power!
Forward only!
The hour has come . . .
The news spreads over the hemisphere.

The titan--capital--has fallen.
It is drizzling, the wooden pavement
Casts a reddish gleam . . .
Dvortsovaya Square is burning brightly
In the flames of red flags.

. . . Aleksandr Vermishev fought the enemies of the Revolution under the red flags of October. He died in the defense of Yelets. The story of the final hours of his life has been preserved. It is a talk with White Guard General Mamontov:

"Are you a university graduate?" the general asked.

"Yes, and a graduate of the Shlissel'burg Fortress."

"Who do you think you are, commissar? A blade of grass! What will be left of you? Ashes! Repent before it is too late. Give your pen to the service of holy Russia and I would spare your life . . ."

"My pen is not for sale! . . ."

Enraged, Mamontov ordered:

"Quarter him!"

The commissar's last words were:

"Long live Soviet power! Long live Comrade Lenin!"

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MAN EMBODYING THE FUTURE

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[Review by Nikolay Proshunin of the book "Chelovek Novogo Mira" [Man of the New World] by A. V. Lunacharskiy. Izdatel'stvo APN, Moscow, 1976, 207 pp]

[Text] Lying on the reader's desk is a captivating, interesting book of recollections on Vladimir Il'ich Lenin, imbued with light and infinite love. The author of the memoirs is a publicist of sparkling talent and a rarely irrudite scientist, Lenin's fellow worker, and noted man of socialist culture.

Anatoliy Vasil'yevich Lunacharskiy repeatedly stated that he was the recipient of a great gift of fate--the be more or less close to the leader of the Revolution, to observe Lenin in his historical activities and daily political life, and the happiness to breath the same air Il'ich breathed.

Having spent many years close to Lenin, Lunacharskiy deemed it his duty to speak of Il'ich to people who were either insufficiently familiar with him or knew him from afar, so that all of them "could look as soon as possible at this amazing, this miraculous phenomenon."

We know that for many years Lunacharskiy dreamed of writing an extensive biography of Lenin which would be profoundly scientific and factual and yet an attractive "biography-poem." In his view this would have been his most significant accomplishment. However, Lunacharskiy was unable to implement his idea. He has left us fragments of this "work of a lifetime" in his speeches, reports, articles, essays and interviews. This is the first time that some scattered publications and minutes have been collected and systematized, turning into a voluminous book which provides a sufficiently specific description of Vladimir Il'ich. I. A. Lunacharskaya, Anatoly Vasil'yevich's daughter, in creative cooperation with associates from the APN Publishing House and the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, carried out the painstaking and highly gratifying work of compiling this collection.

Frankly speaking, it would be impossible to retell the content of even the main parts of the collection, bearing the mark of the unique individuality of the author, without dulling its colors. Lunacharskiy approaches the Leninist topic from many, occasionally unexpected sides, but always with extreme caution, with an awareness of his tremendous responsibility. Lenin is infinite. To paint Lenin's political portrait means to write the history of the "Great Russian Revolution in its most vital years, to write the history of the world's revolution over a quarter of a century . . ." To speak of Lenin means to speak of the greatest theoretician, practical revolutionary, creator and leader of the Bolshevik Party and Soviet state, scientist, philosopher, and publicist. It means to deal with a great variety of problems of politics, economics, culture, and the international communist movement. To encompass all such facets of the activities of the leader would be a task beyond the forces of a single scientist. Lunacharskiy feared that undertaking a description of the entire work, the entire "inhuman output," and entire importance of Lenin entailed the risk of unwittingly falling on general definitions. Enthusiastic sentences come by themselves and are merely attempts at giving an idea of the volume and scope of Vladimir Il'ich's work.

In his short addresses Lunacharskiy limited himself. He usually took up a more restricted, a more specialized topic, and even that with great emotion. He frequently expressed his regret of not recording immediately and most accurately every word he had heard spoken by Vladimir Il'ich at work, in conversation, and in their walks together. " . . . I undertook this too late, like many others." That is why he could not allow himself to describe these extensive and profound talks, doing everything possible not to convert into official terminology the verbal directives which he, as people's commissar, frequently received from Lenin. He informed only of the general course of the conversation and its meaning. "Lenin's authority is immeasurable; it would be criminal to interpret this authority through any kind of subjective view which would sneak into such a description based on recollections without precise records, many years later." Calling upon the readers and listeners not to consider a summed up narration as Lenin's textual words, Lunacharskiy nevertheless stated that he held himself entirely responsible for the general consistency between recollected talks and Il'ich's thoughts which he tried to present with maximal accuracy. This thoroughness and strict exactingness displayed by Lunacharskiy in making his testimony totally accurate can be confirmed, incidentally, quite easily by the many pages which totally coincide with Lenin's texts not only in their essence but occasionally even almost verbatim. The careful attitude taken toward reporting thoughts and views, and the literary skill and psychological sensitiveness in depicting the image of the leader, the uncompromising struggle against over-simplification and distortion, and everything that is new and profound in Lunacharskiy's recollections make them a valuable contribution to Leniniana, to the heroic chronicles of the Great October, and to the establishment of the new world.

Revealing the intent of the book planned on Vladimir Il'ich, Lunacharskiy wrote: "The essence of my topic is Lenin as a type of genius and hero."

The phenomenon of the genius has excited the people's imagination forever. According to the ancient legends geniuses were the creation of the Muses. Legends surround the lives of famous historical personalities, scientists, artists, and poets. We have heard a great deal of the "minions of fortune sent by providence," of "revelers" who achieved world-wide recognition without the slightest effort, and of fanatics, captives of hard mental work, whose heart was totally closed to earthly joys. To the disturbed mind a great man appears like an almost mythical being, like a two-headed calf. There is an almost natural silent assumption that the work of an outstanding personality has been prescribed by his genius. In itself this is the supreme reward, for which reason a concept such as, for example, self-sacrifice would be inapplicable here. A genius is even denied the right to experience the pain of a personal loss. For example, Bacon claimed that the outstanding people have so many ties with nature and the world and that the sphere of their interests is so broad that they can easily withstand any loss. "I'm not one of these outstanding people," Karl Marx said in one of his letters. "The death of my child shook me up to the bottom of my soul and I still feel this loss as sharply as the first day" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch" [Works], Vol 28, p 524). What great courage and pain are found in his words: I have sacrificed to "Das Kapital" the health and happiness of life and my family . . . (see Vol 31, p 434).

Avoiding pathetic words such as selflessness, Lunacharskiy, nevertheless, has stated that Lenin's life was a daily exploit. It may seem unexpected that, describing him as a communist, the author almost gives priority to the fact that this was an unusually cheerful person. Naturally, this is not to say that he did not react to sad news or to the sorrow of people, and that this did not make his face deeply sad. He took everything on earth very close to his heart and very seriously. Nevertheless, happiness and cheer lived in Vladimir Il'ich's heart. He could experience a great deal of happiness, as N. K. Krupskaya writes, being a person of tremendous optimism and inflexible belief in the triumph of the cause to which he had dedicated himself, and because he loved infinitely the "ever green tree of life."

"He smiled yet lived with a burning brain." This facet as well Lunacharskiy has been able to describe, depicting the tremendous work which Vladimir Il'ich did every day for mankind, in front of his comrades, and how many of the common concerns and efforts of his fellow workers he assumed: "He knew that his shoulders were broader and that he would have to assume a heavier burden than others." These are profoundly human features of the portrait of the genius of the revolution.

Marxism-Leninism does not consider anything as mythical in the appearance of revolutionary thinkers and leaders. Great revolutions, Lenin said, are made by great people and disclose, in the course of the struggle, the type of talent which would seem impossible previously. The making of experienced and most influential party leaders, he pointed out, is a long and difficult

matter. In Russia it took 15 years (1903-1917), 15 years of struggle against Menshevism, 15 years of Tsarist persecution, 15 years which included the years of the great and powerful first Russian Revolution. The important work of making leaders of the proletariat, Lenin noted, was and is being done by the workers (see "Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, p 78; Vol 44, p 94; Vol 39, p 296).

The fact that the proletariat raised revolutionaries of the scale of Marx and Lenin was predetermined by the time. It is the working class that gave Lenin to the world. This is the starting point of all of Lunacharskiy's thoughts on the nature of Lenin's genius. The recollections enable us to feel strongly the solid alloy of Lenin and party, and of Lenin and the Great October, and the unparalleled powerful concentration with which they embodied the unabatable all-surmounting will of the class as its organically inherent life-asserting and creative constructive spirit. Whereas Vladimir Il'ich, speaking of the October epoch, singled out the "fascination of the Russian Revolution," Lunacharskiy convincingly proved that in Lenin "the entire fascination of this amazing epoch was manifested in Lenin personally."

The author of the recollections strictly follows a profoundly planned and clearly formulated fundamental theoretical stipulation on which a Marxist biography must be based: The Marxist biographer accepts the personality not as something accidental or mysterious, but as the center of currents, forces, and principles of a given epoch in their encounters and conflicts. This approach enables us profoundly to interpret social facts and bring to light the true nature of the personality and write a truly scientific biography.

Lenin was a natural phenomenon despite an almost supernatural talent and destiny. He was created by the entire course of the Russian Revolution and the powerful will of the Russian proletariat. Lenin embodied the great struggle of the workers and peasants the world over and the best features of their minds and characters. Lenin is a world leader, for he is the embodiment and one of the main motive forces of the epoch of a gigantic change unparalleled in history. Lenin developed from this heroic epoch. He is its quintessence, its most outstanding focal point. He reflected its essence in his ideas and personality.

These thoughts expressed by Lunacharskiy directly coincide with the thought expressed by N. K. Krupskaya who wrote that Lenin could not have become what he was had he lived in a different epoch rather than the epoch of proletarian revolutions and the building of socialism. Marxist theory made him profoundly convinced of the victory of the proletarian cause and gave him the necessary far-sightedness; the struggle and work conducted very close to the proletariat and the struggle for the proletarian cause developed in Lenin the features of the man of the future. Lenin is an all-embracing, a universal revolutionary genius. Naturally, one could imagine, Lunacharskiy assumes, a certain division of labor. For example,

we could have had a leader who would deal either with matters of tactics or theory. In such a case, however, this might have meant that our revolution would not have been the great revolution. Yet, since the revolution created Lenin's giant personality, it is a symbol and a manifestation of its gigantic power.

One of the features of the greatness of our revolution is that the preparations for it and the revolution itself were the atmosphere within which the revolutionary party was crystalized and acquired tremendous collective experience. It had a great deal to choose from. Romantics lacking the strength of objective thinking found themselves in the ranks of the Esers; theoreticians without will power and support within the revolutionary movement became petit bourgeois menshevists. The ranks of the Bolsheviks retained those who combined respect for entirely precise and sober thinking with very strong will power and energy. Expelled into clandestinity yet remaining a mass party, the Bolshevik Party demanded inordinate training. The heavy and sinister hammer of autocracy indeed crushed and rejected anything weak within it and tempered the characters. A constant process of choosing leaders was being conducted in the party. The party looked closely at its people selecting the best among the best and the best among them. Lenin's thought and will were consistent with the scope of the great revolutionary movement. Even within such a firm apparatus as that of the Bolshevik Party, tried and tempered in severe battles, Lenin and his will played the role of a motor. The combination of a great will and the greatest modesty combined so clearly what the party needed that Lenin turned out at its head reaching the top of the "great party pyramid."

The socialist revolution, headed by an inordinately well disciplined and united Marxist party, capable of developing powerful energy, had to develop on a tremendous scope. "It would have been strange," Lunacharskiy summed up, "if in a great country which had given its best to this party and for the building of the entire hierarchical pyramid, once its leader was promoted and assumed his position, for such a leader not to be a universal leader, the entirely suitable leader demanded by history."

The best and the most profound pages of the recollections are dedicated to Vladimir Il'ich's comprehensiveness, to his tremendous contribution to Marxism and to his scientific method. Describing Lenin's theoretical greatness, Lunacharskiy emphasizes the continuity of Marxist-Leninist science as a single and integral system of views. He states with great conviction that there could not even be a question of true Marxism outside of Leninism."

Lenin was not one of those people whose greatness becomes clear only after their death. On the contrary, anyone, even those who met him casually, realized perfectly that a genius was living among them, an extraordinary person, a historical personality of world importance.

What about Vladimir Il'ich, what did he know about himself? Lunacharskiy testifies to Lenin's profound awareness of his call and permanent feeling of tremendous responsibility. Lenin knew that history was with him, that

he was the favorite son of history. He listened to what it wanted and to where it was leading him. Lenin's deep inner faith in his historical purpose is clearly visible in the sending off of Bolshevik exiles returning to Russia after the February Revolution:

"Lenin was leaving calm and happy.

"Looking at him, smiling on the platform of the departing train, I felt that the only thing he could think of was the following: 'Finally, that for which I was created, for which I prepared myself, for which the entire party prepared itself, that without which our entire life would have consisted only of preparations and would have remained unfinished has come.'"

Historical greatness was combined in Lenin with unusual personal charm. Lunacharskiy was able to recreate and clearly depict the "captivating," great, simple, and many-sided character of Lenin, the man.

To understand Il'ich as a person, N. K. Krupskaya said, means to understand better and deeper what is the building of socialism, to feel the character of a member of a socialist system. This was also Lunacharskiy's belief. He considered of exceptional importance that the overall charm of Lenin's truly socialist lofty personality, decisively unsurpassed morally, be set down and passed on.

Lenin's biography is of tremendous value to all mankind. Even though Vladimir Il'ich had some features inherent only in him, nevertheless they were of tremendous social significance. Lunacharskiy tried, as was his duty as a contemporary, to illuminate these features, to describe at least a few lines, either retained or remembered subsequently, when "one had to think of Lenin as a great phenomenon." Working on the depiction of Lenin as a living person, he realized that each "crumb" of recollections, each little individual feature characterizing directly his personality, would be valuable when "problems of the art of living definitively assume a suitable level."

Vladimir Il'ich is presented to us as a person who was truly free spiritually, infinitely dedicated to the great cause, without malice, with a pure mind, and splendid in even the most minute manifestations.

Aware of how ghastly the "entirely positive" characters in a novel may be, Lunacharskiy frequently asks himself: "Did he have any shortcomings, could I remember something, perhaps a sign of some vaingloriousness, complacency, any hostile trick played on someone, any kind of weakness, any desire for personal pleasure at the expense of something he had to do?" Urging his memory, he was unable to recall, he was unable to find a single case "anywhere, toward anyone, anyway;" from beginning to end in politics, in life with friends, in his personal life, in his theories, nowhere were there features which could be described as negative. He was a person with a golden mind and heart in each one of his movements. He was so infinitely gifted that he seemed to go beyond the limits of the human even though, in

fact, he was the first to possess such features, to present the character of a person the way a person should be. A positive character from top to bottom, a miracle as a man and yet, so down to earth . . .

Lunacharskiy listed among Lenin's characteristic features a "tremendous greatness of heart," humanism, inner integrity, and an amazing harmony between the soul and the mind. "Speaking of Vladimir Il'ich's heart, it was revealed most of all in his deep love." The same characteristic was singled out by N. K. Krupskaya: "His heart beat in warm love for all working people, all oppressed. He never mentioned this himself . . ."

Lenin could not stand sentimentality or beautiful statements on truth, on good, on serving the people, or on moral behavior incentives. Yet, serving the working people and the meaning of his life.

It is a bitter saying that it is easier to love mankind than man. One could imagine a gas-bag eloquently speaking of love for mankind yet unable to relate to us mortals, and secretly hating those around him. The opposite is known as well: very big hearted people whose heart goes out to others may seem unable to "love mankind."

Lenin could not separate in his feelings individuals and the mass even though he himself, naturally, saw that such a division frequently occurred in reality. Thus, in the period of severe devastation and hunger, when the question of the existence of socialism and of the physical survival of the working class were based on the proper distribution of the grain, and when the salvation lay in the peasants to loan their surplus grain to the workers at established rather than speculative prices, Lenin said: "Any peasant would agree to this if it is a question of an individual worker dying of hunger near him. Yet, when it is a question of millions of workers, this the peasants can not understand and the old speculation habits take the upper hand" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 39, p 316).

In Vladimir Il'ich a tremendous mind encompassing the destinies of the entire world, a powerful will and a great feeling, and the moral and mental aspects of his character represented a firm crystalline pure alloy. He was filled with loyalty to mankind to the marrow of his bones. He loved mankind, Lunacharskiy said, "as it was, for its suffering, its confusion and darkness." In Lenin this feeling was inflexible, encouraging him, giving him the support which made him firm like steel in the implementation of his will.

Love for the people, a passionate aspiration to bring mankind closer to a better future, and "to make the life of all working people as easy as possible, offering them the possibility for prosperity" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 36, p 381) was what motivated Lenin in his dedicated struggle for the victory of socialism. "This is a great cause," he wrote, "and for the sake of such a cause it is worth dedicating one's entire life" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 7, p 183).

Lenin lived the life of mankind, above all the life of the oppressed masses and, even more closely the life of the proletariat, particularly the progressive and conscientious proletariat. Such was the chain, Lunacharskiy says, which tied him to mankind, feeling himself and his struggle in the bosom of mankind as being entirely natural, as being the content of his entire life.

"If he hated--and he hated political enemies, for he had no private enemies, he hated classes rather than individuals--if he hated he hated for the sake of love, for the sake of the type of love which was greater than the present or present relations."

Love and hatred . . . without them there is no active position in life. Love for the working people without sentimental outpourings and hatred for imperialists without nasty and haughty phrases, and without the "screeching" of the linguistic super revolutionaries mocked by Lenin.

Lunacharskiy's thesis reminds of F. Engels' statement according to which both he and Marx spent their entire lives fighting pseudo-socialists more than anyone else, for they conceived of the bourgeoisie "only as a class and almost never engaged in one to one combats with the bourgeois . . ." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 35, p 320). This remark contains a great historical-philosophical and moral meaning. It expresses calmly and firmly a true party position, a class irreconcilability which is nothing but an organic, a deep "customary" feeling, a firm socialist world outlook. On the basis of such positions and the political wisdom and high dignity of the revolutionary, the struggle can not be shifted to the ground of personal malice or personal hostility.

Il'ich's tremendous warmth was manifested in each of his gestures and actions. Lenin loved the proletariat as a class but also loved it in the individual worker with whom he was able to speak particularly intimately. Lunacharskiy emphasizes that in this case "Lenin was not in the habit of revering workers' clothing as such or the mass as such."

Many of those who knew Lenin noted his warmth and goodness. However, according to Nadezhda Konstantinovna, the word "good" did not fit Il'ich, for it was insufficient and inaccurate. Lunacharskiy says that this was not love-goodness as commonly understood. Lenin took within himself everything extraordinary dimensions. He lived on an exceptionally big scale, as great as his goodness. This is not to say that Vladimir Il'ich was a dry person, that he knew only the cause. Wherever he could manifest directly his tenderness and warmth, he displayed them in touching features. He was a concerned and loyal friend not only to his close assistants but to every party member and simply to anyone who entered his office.

Il'ich's character is revealed in the recollections and external observations of the author. He draws his portrait with loving warmth and skill. He enriches our idea of the living Lenin and helps us to look closely at his dear features.

Naturally, any attempt to sketch a verbal portrait yields to photographs, movie documentaries, or works of painters who had the lucky opportunity to paint Vladimir Il'ich from nature. Even Leo Tolstoy has said that it is actually impossible to describe a man but it is possible to describe the impression he has made. Frequently, this is more valuable than anything else. Lunacharskiy's sketches may be somewhat subjective. Nevertheless, they are imbued with the fragrance of a documentary testimony. They contain great thoughts and great feelings similar to the concealed pride one may feel for someone close to us.

Probably the great change headed by Lenin unwittingly made the people to imagine the leader of the Revolution as powerful and grandiose, wearing the mantle of a high priest. Whenever they had the occasion to see him personally, in their inflamed imagination Lenin's greatness appeared as rather simple. Was this not the reason for the fact that Lenin gave in some of his contemporaries the impression of a person in whom "there was nothing special"? Vladimir Il'ich's rare modesty, inordinate simplicity, and absence of showyness in behavior and talk could, apparently, mislead the superficial or accidental observer.

There was nothing theatrical or deliberately pathetic in Lenin's behavior. This was because Lenin was an organic, a spontaneous democrat in the loftiest meaning of the term. He considered external effects tasteless, confusing, and stupid. Hence, Lenin's infinite simplicity of clothing, mannerisms, and surroundings. Il'ich's simplicity and natural behavior, however, were far from resembling a "gray campaign uniform." Lenin's modesty did not mean that he was unaware of his own mental and moral strength. Vladimir Il'ich was exceptionally natural. He never observed himself. He never assessed himself. He had absolutely no desire to embellish or enhance his personality. He never compared his situation with the situation of others. He did not like to talk about other people behind backs or describe them.

Lenin conducted himself as equal among the equals with whom he was linked with his entire heart. He had no romantic gestures. However, since reality occasionally placed him on a gigantic superhuman level, concentrating on a single focal point, occasionally his pose was monumetary--the pose of a real tribune, fulfilling his mission of leader of a huge mass.

Simple and beautiful gestures, penetrating intelligent eyes, ways of speaking and listening, Il'ich as a speaker captivating the audience, and unrestrained laughter are all aptly depicted features. "His face was particularly beautiful when he was serious, somewhat excited, or somewhat angered. It was then that the extraordinary mind and intensive thought would shine in his eyes. What could be more beautiful than eyes speaking of intensive mental work! At the same time his entire face gave the appearance of inordinate power."

The book contains many memorable details and facts which could be used as a splendid illustration in characterizing the Leninist style of work and the new type of relations of comradely cooperation among fellow workers pursuing a common cause, a new type of leader.

In a few words the author has been able to provide an expressive characterization of intra-party relations and graphically describe intra-party democracy and discipline and other party construction problems. The creation of the "party pyramid" as a social organ of the party's mind and will is described as an organic, natural, purposeful process. "Therefore, the question of how to obey the top did not occur to us. Nor did the following question: 'Should I follow my own mind or would it not be better to seek the advice of my left foot or the middle finger of my right hand.' Everything in the party found its place, collective thinking linked us." Naturally, Lenin gave the example of collectivism.

He was a collectivist to the deepest part of his soul. He loved to work jointly within the collective. Within the party's central committee, in newspaper work, in any collective work, as recalled by many, Lunacharskiy included, he did not impart on those around him any feeling of embarrassment. No one was timid or displayed superstitious veneration in his presence. No one curried favors. Lenin was demanding but never did he display in his attitude toward the people any irritation or an insulting attitude. He was able to direct without unnecessary emphasis, without any external manifestations of leadership.

One could not even imagine, Lunacharskiy says, that Vladimir Il'ich could ever say: "You do it because I said so." Were he to say that this would have been as unnatural as the sky crumbling down.

This would have conflicted with his deepest conviction that power had to be used quite cautiously, something he always spoke and wrote about. No one condemned more sternly than he did a liking for command, the methods of Tit Titych, the "commanding" and undemocratic behavior, the "clumsy use of power for the sake of power, when people say: I was granted this power, I have ordered and you must obey" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 37, p 238). He tirelessly repeated that to order is not enough. You must see to it that the order is carried out and you must help if necessary.

Lunacharskiy describes in detail the collective work method frequently used by Lenin.

Some 12 to 14 of us would gather together. Vladimir Il'ich would say: Let us draft such and such a resolution. He submitted his own notes, suggested that a general idea be broken down into sections, and we would begin to draft the resolution jointly.

Vladimir Il'ich or someone else would suggest an initial formula. It would be discussed from the viewpoint of how to draft it better, literally word for word. The moment the formula was successful it was subjected to

extensive criticism by Vladimir Il'ich: Would a misunderstanding be possible; would there be any confusion on the part of others. A more precise formula was sought and, once found, Vladimir Il'ich would say: This is good, this we shall write. Such a formulation was written down. That is how matters proceeded to the very end . . . Vladimir Il'ich gave his associates extensive freedom in terms of expression and the external, the literary aspect of the document. Matters were different, however, when dealing with a political line. In such a case, seeing any violation of the proper line, he would be merciless and refuse to grant any concession whatever.

We could "superimpose" on this story the story told by Vladimir Il'ich himself on the way the commission would receive the best draft of a resolution on problems of the new economic policy. This shows that the general atmosphere and the method of collective work were retold by Lunacharskiy almost verbatim (see "Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 43, pp 336-337).

Lenin valued the ideas and work of others no less than his own. He never believed his opinion to be unquestionable and one could argue with him quite freely. He never introduced anything personal in discussions and arguments, for which reason the comrades were not hurt whenever he raised questions quite sharply. He expressed himself quite sharply on the subject of slackness, non-obedience, and bureaucracy. In such cases as well, however, he spoke only from the viewpoint of the interest of the project, for once again no one could feel even the least bit insulted for such a severe "going over."

Lunacharskiy knew from his own extensive experience that not only was it impossible for an intelligent person to be insulted by Lenin but it was impossible, after a severe dressing down, not to acknowledge the profound justice of Lenin's viewpoint on the matter "after thinking about it and considering the problem more closely."

However highly Lenin valued the reputation, honesty, intelligence, or talent of one or another comrade, and whatever his personal sympathy may have been toward him, he expressed a severe condemnation with no tolerance whatever whenever it was a question of ideological errors. However, despite the sharpness of the argument, it always clearly showed the subject of his argument: A deliberate enemy or a mistaken fellow worker. In some cases Lenin deemed it necessary especially to emphasize this distinction. Thus, after Lunacharskiy had justifiably criticized in his pamphlet on the attitude of the party toward the trade unions some errors made by August Bebel', Lenin advised him to stipulate that these are errors committed by a person "with whom we follow the same path" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 47, p 115). One can easily see in the example of the criticism of Lunacharskiy's god-building errors how clearly Vladimir Il'ich distinguished between these two different types of polemics. In his work "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," speaking of the "shameful level of which Lunacharskiy has sunk," Lenin nevertheless emphasized that we were still dealing with Anatoly Lunacharskiy rather than a person like Petr Struve, and

that here grounds still existed for comradely arguments. A severe warning and demanding Leninist criticism helped Lunacharskiy to free himself from his god-building confusion, and surmount his deviation from Marxism. Anatoly Vasil'yevich never forgot this.

Lenin was able to save both his and his comrades' time. He demanded the "efficient conduct of the work, no 'speeches,' fastest possible exchange of views, leading to information and specific practical suggestions" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 39, p 45).

Lunacharskiy writes that it was already under Lenin, under the influence of his style of work, that a spirit of strict order was established within the Sovnarkom. The system for the consideration of affairs contributing to energetic work were developed. The time allocated to reporters and participants in discussions was strictly allocated. The speakers had to be to the point and concise. This packed the allocated time with a number of facts, thoughts, and decisions. At the same time, there was not even a whiff of bureaucracy or of the tension of people engaged in impossible work. Despite its entire seriousness, this work seemed easy. It was done with jokes, "efficiently and happily," and this gayness was proof of strength and confidence. Good naturedly and contagiously Lenin would begin to laugh catching someone in a silly contradiction. This was followed by general laughter at jokes told either by the chairman himself or by anyone of the speakers. Immediately after such a burst of laughter, that same cheerful seriousness took over and the flow of reports, exchange of views, motions, and decisions was just as rapid.

We know from a number of memoirs that Vladimir Il'ich invariably demanded both of institutions and individual workers autonomy and increased work responsibility. Lunacharskiy cites a characteristic happening. Once, after seeking Lenin's advice as to what line to follow concerning the old mature art and the support of the new art developing under the influence of the Revolution, Lunacharskiy asked whether, explaining to the public the agreed upon formula on this account "to cite you."

"Why?" Vladimir Il'ich answered. "I am no specialist in matters of art. Since you are the people's commissar your authority should be sufficient."

The same could be said not only of Lunacharskiy whom Vladimir Il'ich knew well and respected. "If," he said at the Eighth Party Congress, "there would be no possibility to have comrades who would work independently in their field we could not work at all" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 38, p 142).

A sensitive and careful attitude toward cadres, trust in party comrades, and respect for their ability to think and act autonomously, and all this combined with high exactingness toward them is the Leninist style of work and a characteristic feature of party comradeship which have become the laws of life of the CPSU. The fruitful influence of such an atmosphere in the party is being manifested ever more strongly as its role increases in society and as the tasks involved in the building of communism become broader and more complex.

Anyone who fails to understand, Lunacharskiy wrote in the 1 September 1923 issue of IZVESTIYA, that there is no contradiction whatever between our profound collectivism and the fact that we call ourselves Marxists, i.e., that we have taken the name of a single individual, and that there is no contradiction between our faith in the masses and our enthusiastic love for Il'ich, does not understand anything! Subsequently, when Lenin was no longer among the living Lunacharskiy wrote: Our huge mass loved him warmly. We not only respected him but were enamored of his moral aspect and not only of his great mind as a leader. All this merged within a captivating gigantic character; all of us feel, each one in his own heart, the never ending source of love and gratitude for this person; we find nothing shameful in this or in passing on this love to future generations.

Lunacharskiy's recollections are a passionate appeal to learn from Lenin in everything and to emulate him in everything. No one could compare himself with Lenin. However, everyone must do everything possible "to reach that kind of level of theoretical thinking, work, life, and struggle."

Lunacharskiy wrote that one could not wish anything better to our children and grandchildren other than being as close to the model given by Lenin as possible. At 53 Lenin was young and would have remained young however long he might have lived. Youth and Leninism represent a tremendous future and the boundless daring of youth.

"Lenin is dear to us," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "not only because he is the banner of our revolution, founder of our party, and builder of the first socialist state in the world. He is dear and close to us also because, perhaps particularly because, his sharp creative mind and invincible logic, depth of analysis and daring of conclusions and actions, and tireless revolution passion combined with greatest humaneness, simplicity, and responsiveness have always been and will be for us a guideline in life, a priceless support and assistance in present day matters."

Lenin encompasses the entire human purity and beauty. We have turned and are turning to him like to a light to see better big and small things. This is what Vladimir Il'ich was and remains. Today, as during Lenin's life, the brightest and the best in the minds and hearts of the Soviet people, of the working people the world over, is linked with his name.

The party is the collective embodiment of Lenin. He, the man of the new world, carries within him the best features of our epoch striving toward communism. He lives in the work of the party leading the Soviet people on the path of the Great October.

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BEGINNING OF THE MORAL RENOVATION OF THE PEOPLE

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[Article by V. Shishkin, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Leningrad]

[Text] One of the most important gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution is the molding of the new man. Love for the work, Soviet patriotism, fraternal solidarity with the working people the world over, and lofty humanism have become the determining crowns for his activities and behavior. The Soviet person, states the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," "combines within himself ideological conviction and tremendous vital energy, constant aspiration toward the peaks of knowledge and culture, and a feeling of collectivism and comradely mutual aid."

The transformation of the spiritual nature of the people who have been raised under the conditions of capitalism with its human hating morality, and the creation of the material and other prerequisites for the education of the new man were some of the most complex and most noble tasks of the revolution. The enemies of socialism, predicting the failure of the ideals of scientific communism in the clash with human egotism allegedly inherent in human nature, relied precisely on the imaginary impossibility to resolve this problem.

The very status of the proletariat contains the conditions which lead to the appearance of truly human relations within it--collectivism and comradeship, solidarity in the struggle based on the principle of "all for one and one for all," and sympathy for the oppressed. However, capitalism erects obstacles on the path of the spiritual development of the working people, disseminating in their ranks the slavish morality of obedience to the rich and the powerful, and blocking their access to cultural values.

The revolutionary proletarian morality is formed in the course of the struggle waged by the working class for its social liberation and for the liberation of all working people, when the broad masses become involved in the reaching of such objectives. The combination of socialism with the workers movement and the creation of a party of a new type by V. I. Lenin

had a tremendous stimulating impact on the moral development of the Russian proletariat and on the development within it of the principles and norms of revolutionary morality.

In this process the role of the Bolshevik Party was that it gave the workers movement purposefulness. This became the basis for the new moral norms and assessments of behavior, consistent with the interests of the revolution. The party is the field for the moral tempering of the fighters for the cause of the working class. Rallying within its ranks the vanguard class it is the bearer of its best spiritual values which it tries to consolidate into traditions and to increase and spread among the new detachments involved in the movement. The elaboration of the materialistic theory of morality is an inseparable part of the party's theoretical activity. Moral education, and exposure of the falseness and exploiting nature of bourgeois morality is one of the main directions in its ideological work.

The hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement was the most important source of growth of its moral self-awareness. The ruling position in the struggle waged by the huge peasant masses, urban middle classes, and oppressed nations faces the leading class with exceptionally strict moral requirements. Its political leadership and influence on those it leads are backed by the power of the example in the struggle, discipline, organization, courage, and dedication. In a recently published speech by Lenin in memory of Ya. M. Sverdlov, this factor in the influence which the organized proletariat exerts on the broad masses is particularly stressed: "Without the link which the organized proletariat maintains with tens of millions of working people, and without the respect which every working person feels for the selfless struggle of the proletariat destroying the old society, without the unique influence gained by the proletariat and the party leading it, the revolution would have been impossible." At the same time, the role of leader of the movement of the masses develops in the proletariat itself a feeling of duty, an awareness of its responsibility for the destinies, happiness, and future of millions of rightless and exploited people. A tremendous shift in the moral development of the peoples of Russia was achieved in the course of the first Russian Revolution which destroyed the patriarchal faith in the Tsar and awakened the proletarian masses to revolutionary creativity showing them the force of proletarian solidarity. In the course of the revolution itself Lenin noted this important feature: "One after the other the illusions and prejudices which made the Russian people trusting, patient, simple, obedient, all-suffering and all-forgiving are being destroyed" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 13, pp 331-332).

Under the conditions of the fierce reaction which followed the defeat of the 1905-1907 revolution and which brought confusion in the ranks of the unstable fellow travelers of the revolution and demoralization among the bourgeois intelligentsia, the politically and morally tempered proletariat displayed firmness and courage. Within a very short time it recovered from the defeat and launched a new offensive against the positions of the

ruling classes. It raised high the banner of proletarian internationalism in the circumstances of the pseudo-patriotic enthusiasm and raging chauvinism of World War One. It retained, as Lenin said, "the living traditions of 1905 which increased in strength in the decisive storming of autocracy.

As early as the February Revolution the Russian proletariat displayed heroism and high level organization and ability to raise the huge exploited masses and lead them in the attack of the old order. The autocracy which protected the interests of landowners and capitalists and retained vestiges of serfdom poisoned the minds of the people with chauvinism and raised obstacles to the development of progressive democratic culture and education. It legislatively codified the humiliating status of women in the family and society. It was an obstacle on the path of moral progress of all nations and nationalities in the country. Lenin directly pointed out the "irreconcilability between autocracy and any kind of autonomous, honest, and independent conviction and pride in true knowledge" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 5, p 327). Liberation from the chains of autocracy was the beginning of the unparalleled revolutionary creativity of the people and provided new conditions for their moral development. The creation of soviets of workers and soldiers deputies, factory and plant committees, trade union organizations, and the workers militia, followed by the Red Guard, along with the unparalleled gravitation of the masses toward the printed word and education, and their desire to reject as soon as possible everything which had humiliated and insulted in the past the dignity of the working man were the characteristic features of the life of the masses displayed in the very first days after the fall of Tsarism. However, after the February Revolution there were also factors which hindered the development of the class awareness of the proletariat and the peasantry. They included, above all, the dissemination by the bourgeoisie and the conciliationists of the idea of so-called "revolutionary defense" which prevented the masses from realizing the existence of class antagonisms in society and which carried the elements of a chauvinistic ideology.

The implementation by the Bolshevik Party of the Leninist strategic line of conversion to a socialist revolution called for surmounting the thoughtless-trusting attitude of the masses toward the bourgeoisie, its government, and the conciliationists, and the mobilization of the revolutionary energy of workers, soldiers, and seamen. The party's strategic line was the basis for the moral training of the political army of the socialist revolution. Above all, this line molded in a new fashion, in accordance with its nature, the patriotic awareness--revolutionary patriotism organically blended with proletarian internationalism.

The course charted by the Bolshevik Party toward a socialist revolution raised as one of the primary tasks the development and strengthening of a revolutionary discipline among workers, soldiers, and seamen in their organizations. The Bolshevik Party considered discipline one of the most important conditions for the combat capability of the political army of

the revolution, for strengthening the moral authority of its vanguard detachments and increasing their influence on the broad masses. In his "Letters from Afar" Lenin was already calling upon the Russian working class "to display miracles of proletarian and nationwide organization in order to prepare its victory in the second stage of the revolution" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 31, p 21). At that time the main characteristic of strengthening the discipline among the working people was that the revolutionary party could not rely on the existing juridical norms, on the law, for that law had been written by a state of exploiters and served their interests. A revolutionary awareness and understanding of its need for the victory of the revolution, on the one hand, and high political and moral authority of the Bolshevik Party and the workers organizations, on the other, were the foundations for introducing and strengthening discipline in the vanguard detachments. In the pre-October period the plant and factory committees in Petrograd, for example, engaged in daily efforts to strengthen production discipline at the enterprises, realizing that its drop would fatally influence the organizational level of the working people, linking here problems of discipline with the establishment of workers' control, and eliminating from factory life elements which violated the dignity of man. As the revolutionary process developed, the bourgeois press shrieked every more loudly of growing anarchy in the country, in the hope of frightening the petite bourgeoisie, discredit the working class, and prepare grounds for the establishment of naked counter-revolutionary dictatorship. Headed in their majority by Bolsheviks, the factory and plant committees actively struggled against drunkenness, theft, and absenteeism. They not only strengthened the discipline but developed a new ethic in the workers' collectives. The most vivid and characteristic feature of such ethics in the revolutionary epoch consisted of requirements governing behavior and moral assessments based on the interests of the revolution.

The process of preparations for the socialist revolution had a rather complex and conflicting influence on the attitude of the workers toward labor and property. The material foundations for a new attitude toward labor, consisting of socialist ownership had not been established as yet. Factories and plants remained in capitalist hands. However, the workers' organizations were invading the production process ever more persistently, and the "final and decisive battle" in the course of which the working people were to become the true masters of the values they created was nearing. The country's economy was in a catastrophic position. Realizing that salvation could be found only by the assumption of power by the working class and the poorest peasantry, the progressive workers did not wait for that time in fighting devastation. On the eve of the October Revolution their organizations were already doing everything possible to insure the continuation of the work in factories and plants under conditions marked by grave shortages of food and basic commodities. We know, for example, that in the autumn of 1917, on the eve of the uprising, the Putilov Plant Committee headed by Bolsheviks, undertook to organize the supply of the enterprise with fuel. A number of documents of that period prove that even while striking the plant and factory committees took strictly into consideration the consequences of strikes to the country's economy. The workers

launched a movement for the collection of scrap metal and for manufacturing from it agricultural tools to help the peasants plant their own plots and the land abandoned by the big landowners. The factory and plant committees struggled against theft at enterprises, not in order to preserve the "property of the owner" but the values which were soon to be totally owned by the people. Discussing at workers and factory and plant committee meetings and comrades' courts cases of theft, they also considered educational objectives, protecting their less conscientious comrades from corruption. These changes in the moral awareness of the workers were quite accurately described by K. V. Ostrovityanov, a participant in the Moscow revolutionary events: "Long before the October Revolution they (the workers--the author) considered the factories and plants as a heritage which they would soon acquire by the right of history and which, therefore, had to be protected from its then owners." The workers' control organs, the soviets, and the peasants' committees were in fact forced to protect the land from the landowners who had left the fields unplanted in the autumn of 1917, and industrial enterprises and other property from the capitalists who tried to intensify the devastation through lockouts and direct sabotage, so that the "skeletal hand of hunger" may suppress the revolution.

The high morality of the political army of the revolution and of its vanguard detachments was clearly manifested in the October armed uprising. The moral superiority of the rebels over the defenders of the old system was one of the decisive conditions for the victory of the popular forces. This was properly understood by the organizations which had prepared the uprising. This was confirmed, specifically, by the written and unwritten regulations governing Red Guard detachments, whose troops could consist only of people loyal to the revolution, capable of undertaking the most daring and decisive actions, people who were impeccably honest and authoritative. The regulations cautioned them against all actions and steps which could compromise the soldiers of the revolution, and morally harm their detachment.

The moral factor is assigned an important role in Marxist-Leninist doctrine, and Lenin's plan for armed uprising. In the uprising burning hatred for the exploiters, and ability to engage in self-sacrifice for the sake of the triumph of the great revolutionary ideals played a particular role among all the qualities inherent in the working class and its vanguard. "Triple daring," and the conscientious, firm, and inflexible resolve of the conscientious people to fight to the end were, as Lenin predicted, not only basic conditions for victory in the decisive clashes at the time of the uprising, but factors which influenced those who hesitated and waited, involving them in the active struggle. Under circumstances in which the masses had become tired of the promises of the conciliationists, and of the deprivations and difficulties caused by the war and the devastation, through their bold and decisive actions for the sake of the fastest possible and factual satisfaction of the demands of the people the combat detachments of the revolution brought to light and triggered tremendous reserves. In turn, the moral awareness, organization, and combat capability of the armed detachments raised against the provisional government were largely determined

by the principled position of the Bolshevik Party and its resolve based on the Leninist analysis of the sum total of international and domestic conditions which offered maximally favorable chances for victory.

In October 1917 our party acted as a wise and daring leader of the armed uprising. Through its efficient, operative, and energetic instructions it gave a feeling of confidence and daring and decisiveness to the combat operations of the revolutionary detachments.

The moral atmosphere at Smol'nyy during the attack and the high spirit combined with practical confidence and organization displayed by the Red Guard detachments and the revolutionary soldiers and seamen who attacked the Winter Palace on 25 October 1917 vividly contrasted with the confusion, and dark pessimism which prevailed in the Winter Palace, in the general staff, and in all strongholds of the counter-revolution.

The October victory was a turning point in the moral development of mankind. It laid the beginning of an unparalleled process of re-education of millions of people raised under capitalist conditions. The utopian socialists presumed that a new society would be developed consisting of particularly virtuous, pure, and highly moral people. Reality clearly proved the ephemeral nature of such views and, through the example of a huge country, confirmed Lenin's correctness. Lenin claimed that "it is possible (and necessary) to build communism from the mass of human material wasted for centuries and millenia of slavery, serfdom, and capitalism . . ." ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 37, p 409), and that the re-education problem is resolved above all by involving the broadest toiling masses in the building of the new life.

The first acts of the revolutionary creativity of the working class in Russia were the elimination of the legal institutions of the old system which juridically codified the humiliating status of the working people and restrained the growth of their self-awareness. The Decree on Peace, Decree on Land, Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, Decree on the Freedom of Conscience and of Church and Religious Societies, Decree on the Abolishment of Nobility and Civil Ranks, and the abrogation of the Tsarist laws which sanctified the humiliating status of women in society and within the family were all documents which asserted the principles of high humanism and enhanced the feeling of dignity of the working people and their revolutionary self-awareness. The October decrees materialized the concept of justice shared by the people's masses. The victory of the revolution in a backward capitalist country with a tremendous predominance of petite bourgeoisie strata required of the working class the unparalleled stress of spiritual forces. The new morality was manifested, above all, in resolving the primary task after the seizure of power--organizing the administration of the country.

History cruelly mocked the prophecies of the enemies of the revolution who claimed that the working class would be unable to manage the state because of its lack of culture. As Lenin predicted, awakened by the revolution to

the creation of a new life, the masses raised from their midst many thousands of talented people who displayed a tremendous persistence in their creative search for the solution of innumerable most difficult problems in building a new state apparatus. The revolutionary morality developed under the conditions of the lengthy struggle of the working class--relations of comradeship and mutual aid, reciprocal exactingness, attention to the needs of the simple people, and awareness of a responsibility for the implementation of collective decisions--largely determined the style of work and atmosphere in Soviet establishments replacing the old state apparatus destroyed by the revolution. "This ethic," wrote Albert Reece Williams, an American journalist-internationalist who observed the activities of the progressive workers in the victorious days of the uprising, "was based on the principle of collectivism. The workers acted collectively and obeyed the collective judgment of the party. However, this did not reduce their individual freedom by a single iota." The toadying official who bowed to the rich and the noble and was indifferent to the needs of the masses was replaced in the new state apparatus by a new type of worker coming from the people, aware of the people's concerns, and responsive to their demands. This was one of the proofs of the profoundly democratic nature of the state created by the revolution.

The effective force of the new morality was manifested in the people's active making of laws. The old courts were abolished and the legal acts and codes governing the exploiting society, adapted to the interests of the ruling classes, became invalid. The new law was only appearing. Under those circumstances workers' courts and tribunals stopped the criminal actions of counter-revolutionaries, speculators, hooligans, and others, in accordance with the interests of the revolution and guided by their revolutionary conscience--the feeling of duty to the homeland and awareness of responsibility for its fate. The first Decree on Courts based the source of justice on revolutionary conscience. Since the moment of its birth the Soviet court became a means for the education of the people, and a rostrum for disseminating among the working people the principles and norms of the revolutionary morality.

The victory of the October Revolution gave the peoples of Russia a true fatherland. This became the basis for Soviet patriotism in which the patriotic feelings developed in the course of the work and liberation struggle for a better future found their highest embodiment. Love for the Soviet homeland, feeling of pride triggered by the awareness of the greatness and significance of the victorious revolution, and sacred hatred for its enemies who were launching desperate attempts to deprive the people from their gains in the struggle for a socialist fatherland determined the effectiveness of Soviet patriotism and its ability to become a material force in the defense and building of the new life.

This force was greatly multiplied. By its nature Soviet patriotism is inseparable from proletarian internationalism. Having overthrown the power of landowners and capitalists, and having established its dictatorship,

the proletariat did everything possible within a single country to insure the success of the international workers movement. In turn, the workers movement in Russia relied on the experience and fraternal solidarity of the foreign proletariat. Soviet Russia benefited from its support from the very first days of its existence. "One could say with full justification," pointed out L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, in his report "Fifty Years of Great Socialist Victories," "that the victory of the October Revolution is also a victory of the international fraternity of the working people, a victory of proletarian internationalism." A feeling of high patriotism motivated hundreds of thousands of soldiers suffering in the trenches of the imperialist war, and the proletariat of Petrograd, Moscow, and other cities, exhausted by hunger, cold, and disease --people who took up arms again with tremendous enthusiasm to defend the gains of the October Revolution. The Leninist decree "The Socialist Fatherland is in Danger!," proclaimed in the days of German imperialist invasion, met with the warm response of the working people. Workers of entire plants went to recruiting centers to register as volunteers. In a number of cases the public organizations had to order them to remain by their machine tools so that the enterprise would go on working. This movement was combined with an upsurge of internationalist feelings. Meetings with the participation of prisoners of war and foreign internationalists, and passionate appeals to class brothers in other countries to follow the example of the workers and peasants in Russia were characteristic phenomena in social life both during preparations for the October Revolution as well as after its victory.

The domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet state, formulated by the party, became a permanent factor in strengthening the internationalist awareness of the people. The Decree on Peace condemned all forceful annexation of weak nations by a big and strong state as a crime against humanity. The right of nations to self-determination was proclaimed and implemented. The secret Tsarist treaties aimed at the division and enslavement of oriental countries were destroyed. All this contributed to the moral development of the people and to the strengthening of internationalism. In the very first days and months following the victory of the October Revolution, this feeling was materialized in the aid which the workers of the industrial centers of Russia gave the peoples of the outlying areas in developing their own statehood and their economy and culture, in organizing help to hungry Turkestan, and in defending the gains of the October Revolution. Taking into consideration the fact that toiling strata which could not as yet realize the need to defend the socialist fatherland and the Bolshevik Party during the German invasion also became involved in the movement and cautioning verbally and in the press against the development of chauvinistic feelings towards the Germans, the Bolshevik Party explained that the interests of the German capitalists were directly opposed to those of the German workers, and that the German proletariat supported our revolution, that there was a Germany of the Kaiser and of Krupp, who had formulated predatory peace conditions at Brest, and a Germany of Karl Liebknecht, the great internationalist, and the leader of the German working people, and friend of Soviet Russia. "'Hatred for the German, and beat the German,'

was, and remained, the usual slogan, i.e., that of bourgeois patriotism," Lenin wrote in the article "The Main Task of Today." "Yet, we say: 'Hatred for the imperialist predator, hatred for capitalism, death to capitalism,' and also 'Learn from the Germans! Remain loyal to the fraternal alliance with the German workers'" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 36, p 82).

Bourgeois patriotism as well revealed its nature under the conditions of the tense and sharp class struggle. Always and, under such circumstances in particular, it combined itself with nationalism, chauvinism, and the counter-revolution. In the outlying areas of Russia, where the bourgeoisie and its Menshevik lackies were temporarily able to establish their rule, the bourgeoisie took the path of national treason, calling for the aid of foreign imperialists. These forces tried to dull the class awareness of the working people and to use national feelings to promote international discord and fight the Soviets.

The high political awareness, revolutionary morality, and love for the socialist fatherland were the most important factors in the victory of the armed forces created by the Soviet state over its internal and external enemies.

The primary task and just about the most difficult one of the victorious proletariat, a task which became particularly urgent under the conditions of economic devastation and hunger and of the desperate attempts on the part of the overthrown classes to regain their power, was to achieve a change in the attitude of the masses toward labor and the people's property, and the establishment of a new discipline. Forced labor aimed at enriching the exploiters, and exhausting labor only triggered opposition and the adamant desire to ease its burden. The revolution brought the desired freedom and all the thoughts of the "middle and rank and file member of the working and exploited masses" were focused on "take a breath, stretch, expand, and benefit from the immediate goods of life" (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 36, pp 200-201). The demands of the workers' organizations for strict observance of revolutionary order and discipline in the first months of life of the Soviet state were frequently considered by some of the working people a return to the "old regime," to a discipline based on slavish obedience, accompanied by humiliations and insults. The progressive workers faced the tremendously difficult task of laying the foundations of a new discipline, a conscientious discipline which would be supported by the workers themselves and be strengthened by the authority of the workers collective and respect for the individual. Whereas in the period of preparations for the October Revolution discipline was a prerequisite for the combat capability of the revolutionary forces, following its victory it became absolutely necessary for strengthening and defending the Soviet state, organizing the production process, and fighting anarchy. The resolution passed at the Seventh Extraordinary Congress of RKP(b) "On War and Peace" described the development of self-discipline and discipline "the prime and basic task of our party and of the entire vanguard of the conscientious proletariat." The Fourth Extraordinary All-Russian

Congress of Soviets considered the upgrading of the discipline and self-discipline of the working people "the most important and urgent task of the moment." Aware of its importance, the progressive workers creatively formulated at the enterprises the rules of the new discipline which pointed out its significance and meaning and direct connection with the development of the revolution, and stipulated a system of measures of primarily moral influence on violators. This was one of the most outstanding initiatives born of the October Revolution and supported by the party, the initiative of proletarian detachments which had undergone the training of the revolutionary struggle and were the bearers of the best moral values of their class.

Awareness of the new role of the working class in society--the role of the master and manager in building the new life, and responsibility for the fate of the revolution and the future of the homeland were basic conditions for a change in the attitude of the workers toward labor and the people's property. Lenin called upon the working people to become aware of their ownership role in his appeal "To the Population," published in the 19 (6) November 1917 PRAVDA issue. The important contributing factors became workers' control of output and distribution, and the ubiquitous transfer of industrial enterprises to the Soviet state, initiated by the workers' organizations.

The radical revolutionary changes in industry convinced the workers that the goods they produced were going not for the enrichment of exploiters and speculators but for the good of the people. A solid material foundation was being laid for the establishment and development of the most important principle of communist morality: A communist attitude toward labor and the people's property. Such an attitude could not be manifested immediately by virtue of remaining customs and mores left from the old society. However, even in the first months following the victory of the October Revolution, the workers enthusiastically organized the production process and fought against the devastation. We cannot fail to admire, for example, the exploit of the Donbas workers who, hungry and bare, despite all difficulties, in the autumn of 1917 were already able to increase their coal output. The promotion of leading workers to leading positions in industry and the state apparatus became a mass phenomenon. Lacking the necessary education, they acquired through practice the complex science of management, sparing no efforts. A new type of manager was developing, a Soviet captain of industry, stemming from a working environment, possessing as a rule, experience in revolutionary work, able to rely on the workers collective, and to create and support workers' initiatives in production affairs. At the same time, grounds were being laid for new relations among workers and between managers and subordinates. Favorable conditions appeared for fighting the legacy of the past in the minds and behavior of the people.

This shift in the moral awareness and the gradual change of the entire appearance of the working class, determined by the victory of the October Revolution and the initial revolutionary changes in the economy, were

exhaustively described by Lenin in his "Letter to the American Workers." ". . . Our workers," he wrote, "are learning through their difficult daily toil the new work of managing entire industrial sectors. They are organizing the nationalized industries, surmounting the gigantic opposition of sluggishness, petite bourgeoisie, and egotism. They are laying, stone by stone, the foundations of a new social relation, a new labor discipline, a new power of trade unions over their members" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 37, p 62).

The revolutionary morality of the proletariat manifested its creative power not only in the steps and actions of the working class. It also influenced the self-awareness of progressive rural strata. The involvement in the revolutionary process of the tremendous mass of soldiers and seamen and of the toiling peasantry, and contacts between workers and soldiers at the front and in the garrisons of industrial cities had become a daily phenomenon in 1917, as well as the sending of delegations from enterprises and landmen to the countryside, together with agitators, and representatives of revolutionary organizations opened extensive possibilities for the working class to exercise political and moral influence on the non-proletarian toiling strata. With the conclusion of the peace the veteran appeared in the countryside, a person with a broad outlook, aware of the nature of the class antagonism between rich and poor, aspiring to literacy, culture, and a new life. In the autumn of 1917 the countryside experienced spontaneous pogroms of landed estates. However, it experienced other more significant phenomena: local soviet congresses and peasant meetings disseminated comprehensively decrees on the preservation of the former estates, forests, and other land as belonging to the people. The kulaks and many rich peasants were making alcohol out of grain, while the rural activists collected grain for the hungry cities and for Turkestan, and organized public trials of moonshiners and speculators. Unquestionably, the most vivid feature of rural life was the political activity of the toiling peasantry and the exceptionally high desire for education. New schools, public houses, clubs, and childrens orphanages were built through public funds.

The autumn of 1917 was marked by the appearance of the first agricultural communes in the countryside organized either by workers coming from the cities or rural activists. These were merely minute socialist islands in the ocean of petty private farms. Yet, this was the first break in the peasant morality which had developed in the course of centuries, expressed by the saying "this is none of my business," sluggishness, and egotism created by petty ownership and the conditions of a scattered "atomized" rural life. The initial communes proved that despite the predictions of the enemies of the revolution peasant individualism was not in the least the type of rock against which the wave of the socialist revolution would break. Invariably the bylaws of the communes proclaimed and asserted collectivism, concern for the common good, and priority in observing the state interests by the communards. The fact that the activists joining the communes were ready to accept such demands and that the number of communes grew steadily, reaching, by the end of 1918, over 1,500, proved that a

major change had taken place in the awareness of the rural poor, a change determined by the victory of the October Revolution. Naturally, many errors were made in the building of rural communes. Many of the communes failed to strengthen: the overwhelming majority of them were lost in the spreading civil war. However, they provided priceless experience and strengthened the belief that under the guidance of the working class and its party and with the support of the state the broad peasant strata would be able to undertake the building of a new life, and that the tremendously difficult task of changing the peasant mentality and morality could be implemented.

The Great October Socialist Revolution laid the beginning of a new stage in the moral development of the people.

The enemies of socialism have written mountains of papers in an effort to prove that the revolution, "destroying" law and morality (in which case they deliberately ignore the question of the type of law and morality they discuss) destroys the main controls governing human behavior, giving grounds to base instincts, leading society into the chaos of arbitrariness and destruction. The historical experience of the Great October Revolution, multiplied by the entire subsequent revolutionary process, proves the groundlessness of such claims. It proved the idea of the founders of scientific communism on the role of the revolution in the spiritual reorganization of the working class. ". . . the revolution is necessary not only because no other way is possible for the overthrow of the ruling class but also because it is only through the revolution that the overthrowing class could reject from itself the entire old baseness and become capable of laying a new social foundation" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch," Vol 3, p 70). Rejecting bourgeois law and bourgeois morality which justify and conceal the exploitation of man by man, the October Revolution laid the foundations of a highly humanistic society embodying the brightest dreams of the progressive people of the past.

New social relations developed in the struggle for the implementation of the Leninist plan for the building of socialism in the USSR, a plan covering all realms of material and spiritual life. Such relations were characterized by the common objectives of the Soviet people, comradely cooperation in achieving them, and surmounting distrust among nations--one of the difficult legacies of the past.

The moral development of the Soviet society is profoundly based on the growth of the socialist economy, the improving of social relations, and true democracy. Furthermore, communist morality is not simply the product of social progress. It is an active force in the building of communism, for the success in the implementation of all our plans depends on the activeness and conscientiousness of the Soviet people, their attitude toward labor and the people's property, the unity and level of mobilization of labor collectives, and their moral climate. The CPSU takes into consideration in its activities the growing role of the moral principles, the

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broadened realm of action of the moral factor, and the respective decline of the importance of administrative rules controlling relations among people in the process of the transition to communism (see "Programma Kommunisticheskoy Partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Politizdat, Moscow, 1976, p 119). It mobilizes all the active social forces to surmount the moral faults which cause tremendous harm to society and harm the dignity of the Soviet person. Moral education, organically linked with ideological-political and labor education aims at developing in the Soviet person an active position in life, making him spiritually richer, and directing his thoughts to the reaching of noble ideals. Morally, the Soviet person is the opposite of the Phillistine with his narrow consumer interests, narrow outlook, basic egotism, and inclination toward crudeness and accumulation.

Since the victory of the October Revolution tremendous experience has been acquired in molding the new man. Unquestionably, the morality of the fighters for the freedom and happiness of the people, the moral aspect of the heroes of the October Revolution, and the revolutionary traditions of the working class hold an honorary position in the arsenal of means for communist education. "The heroism and dedication of the fighters of the revolution, their readiness to self-sacrifice and to withstand all privations for the sake of victory are still amazing the world . . .," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "Their exploit is an example in raising the new generations of Soviet people. The traditions of selfless struggle for the socialist homeland, developed during the civil war, will remain forever to us, the heirs of the October Revolution, an inexhaustible source of courage and firmness and will win."

The actions and thoughts of the heroes of the October Revolution, and their noble aspirations live in the labor accomplishments of the five-year plans, the military exploits on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War, and in the ranks of the fighters for peace and social progress the world over.

5003

CSO: 1802

IMAGE OF THE EPOCH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 77 pp 50-54

[Article by Chingiz Aytmatov]

[Text] People are the image and meaning of the epoch. Man focuses within himself the characteristics of the epoch. Thinking of the 60th anniversary of the October Revolution we think above all of the Soviet people. Meeting such people one becomes richer in experience and wisdom and strengthens one's knowledge of life. These are people of a new system for which reason they possess truly high qualities: Conscientiousness, civic duty, and profound humaneness. They embody the best thoughts of the communists. A great deal has been accomplished in 60 years of Soviet system: Thousands and thousands of plants were built and the appearance of the land has changed. Yet, our main wealth is the people, the ideas and features they carry.

Karl Marx said that the development of human forces will be the objective of the communist society. Let us not anticipate. We are only creating the material and technical foundations for communism. However, man is the main objective of our development. Today it is bad if we fail to complete a factory on time or if a plant falls behind in its output. Yet, today one must not "fail to educate" a person, for tomorrow he will have to be reeducated, "recreated." This would harm our entire development. It is society that shapes man but there is a feedback as well. Man contributes to the molding of society itself through his attitude toward labor and the ideals and interests of the people.

These thoughts came to me in the course of a recent encounter while traveling. I was going to Moscow to attend the Supreme Soviet session which was to ratify the new fundamental law of our state. I was thinking of the discussion of the draft of the constitution and of its significance to the life of the people. Suddenly I saw a familiar face--the face of an elderly woman. I remembered photographs of her and meetings as members of presidiums of ceremonies. I recalled her name: Kharchenko. Yes, this was Anna Il'inichna Kharchenko. In the 1960's her sugar beet growing team was familiar to the entire republic. Anna Il'inichna herself had been a member of the Kirgiz Communist Party Central Committee.

We engaged in conversation. Speaking of peasant affairs to which she had dedicated her life, Anna Il'inichna frequently said the words "our land." She voiced them with a certain special inner feeling and amazing simplicity. Yet, they meant a great deal more: The kolkhoz field and the village where she was born, the country, and others. It is a long trip to Moscow, and Anna Il'inichna spoke of her life. She spoke of the first prewar joys: Her beginning as a farmer, her marriage, and her son. She also spoke of the sadness and bitterness of wartime. She spoke of the day she learned that her husband had been killed at Smolensk. Notice in hand, she ran to the garden and cried until dark. Late in the night, as usual, she went to see her teammates to discuss the work. No one heard her cries. In the morning she led the team to the distant fields. The women broke into a song. She remained silent and no one saw her tears. They were harvesting the crop, dug out the beets, cut off the leaves with knives, and loaded the crop in the three-ton truck until exhausted. They rested for a few minutes and once again dug the earth. To her the earth became not simply a field where she earned her daily bread but a project to which she dedicated all her years of work, spring after spring, and day after day. Barefoot, under-nourished, Kharchenko and her friends went to the fields working hard. To her work became the supreme meaning of her life. She felt how needed it was to the destinies of the country. She could see beyond it. She was aware that a lump of sugar produced from the beets she had grown would give strength to a soldier in a trench and help an infant born that difficult year to survive.

Anna Il'inichna's authority was great and she remained at the head of the beet growers when the men returned from the front. Combines and other machines appeared in the fields and she had to learn. She attended agrotechnical courses and studied the new equipment, as always sparing neither her strength nor her time. It was then that her beet growers became famous throughout the republic.

Now as well, despite her advanced age, Anna Il'inichna frequently goes to the fields. She helps her fellow villagers with work and advice. The love of this woman for the land is infinite. She attends nearly all party meetings and sharply criticizes those who work poorly. The strongest argument in her speeches is the following: "You are working our land..." This means that one cannot work poorly.

I frequently travel to the West. I have never found people there so concerned with the public good. Collectivism rules our country whereas individualism rules theirs. After long years of work on our land Anna Il'inichna has developed a sharp conscience--an inner incentive and inner worry which dictates what is allowed and what is not, what is beautiful and what is disgusting. I see in Anna Il'inichna the keeper of moral foundations. Our theory and practical efforts are directed against individualism. In the Soviet Union individualism has no social base which would let us engage in mercantilism or extract profits. Nevertheless, let us admit that among us there still are people who's thoughts are focused exclusively on their own interests. Their individualism is that of the petit bourgeois, expressed in grubbing, careerism, and shallowness. If a petit bourgeois tries to become

the head of the collective, he is not doing it in the least for the sake of dedicating his abilities to the good of society. He thinks of himself exclusively. He wants to gain greater benefits, travel in first class automobiles, eat well, and sleep in a soft bed. He obeys superior petit bourgeois but is a tyrant to his subordinates. He does not understand that human dignity is based on relations among people. Should I wound the dignity of another person I should not believe that my own dignity would remain untouched. The petit bourgeois lives in our country yet his outlook is essentially not ours, not Soviet. People like Anna Il'inichna Kharchenko, people who have gathered within themselves the experience of Soviet life and its wisdom, who have focused within themselves our morality, play a tremendous role in the struggle against such views.

I know a shepherd named Bektay Dzhumabayev. His labor career is as long as that of Anna Il'inichna. He began work at the Kok-Say Sovkhoz in 1928. Bektay was given a flock of sheep and remained a shepherd throughout his life. However, he has invested so much work in the farm that he considers himself as responsible for it as the managers. Sometimes even more so. Several directors have managed the sovkhoz but Bektay has always worked there. He not only works as much as he can but is concerned with the affairs of the entire farm. Directors come and go. Some have been successful and some have not. The last one, for example, was far from being one of the best. Bektay suffered. He saw how work in the sovkhoz declined and the cattle began to die out. The old shepherd traveled to the rayon and oblast organizations, and spoke of shortcomings. He was answered as follows: Your director is a specialist, he has good knowledge. Yet, Dzhumabayev kept proving that it is not enough to have knowledge and a diploma. A manager must be a person who knows how to deal with people. He had his way: The director was dismissed. A new one came. He summoned Dzhumabayev and other people who had long worked at the sovkhoz and asked the reason for the failures. He then proclaimed at a meeting: "I have two enemies: The drunkard and the loafer. With all others I will be like a son and a brother." He began to work confidently.

Yet, Bektay Dzhumabayev's concern remained. The shepherds flocks numbered 500-600 sheep. This meant much concern and trouble...It was not merely a question of caring for the animals. They had to be healthy and produce. Yet, sheep breeding had become more complex. The sheep herds in the republic had increased over 100 percent. All winter and summer pastures were overgrazed. The old expanse was gone. The grass was not given time to grow. This made feeding and the work of the shepherds difficult. They turned to Bektay for advice: The snow was knee-deep and there was no hay.

Bektay was a man of thought and action. He is an active person. Without being asked he took to the mountains on horseback. He saw the condition of the land and the type of grass it grew and determined the time for mowing. He knew all paths, roads, and pastures. He knew the best place and time for grazing and the type of feed that was needed.

Bektay Dzhumabayev is a thrifty farmer and he suffers if something wrong is being done. He would go to the party organizer or sovkhoz director and say:

"Where are you looking, this shepherd is drunk night and day. He would lose the herd." Or else, conversely, he would ask that a conscientious person be rewarded. Some people do not know what to do with their time while Bektay is always short of it. He is engaged in a number of public affairs which appear spontaneously. He intervenes in human relations, and in relations between sovhoz workers and managers. Should a conflict break out the people go to him because his authority is universally accepted. This is no accident. He has never tricked anyone. He has always tried to do only what was good, what helps the people to live better. Should he fail he goes to the rayon or oblast center. Should he fail to gain support there he goes to Frunze. He would travel a distance of 500 km for the sake of helping people, for the sake of preventing them from losing faith in themselves and in life.

I see Bektay frequently. I find it both interesting and useful to talk with him. He has his philosophy of life and death. Of late I have heard him say more frequently the following: "We are all getting older. Death is not far away. The most important is to lead a worthy life." I asked him the reason for which he links so closely life with death, for a dead person can neither appreciate nor be aware of anything. Bektay calmly answered: "Naturally, after a man dies he is no one and nothing. However, we leave other people behind us. If I leave a good name it means that my good actions will live, will be present in life. Should I leave behind a bad reputation I would be recalled for bad things only. I would not be useful at all. This way, I would still be helpful to those who had known me. I would still be able to influence their lives and good deeds."

It is through people such as Anna Kharchenko and Bektay Dzhumabayev that self-awareness comes to the people. The true spiritual wealth of a person depends on the wealth of his relations with other people, with society. I would describe as effective humanism the concern which Kharchenko and Dzhumabayev feel for friends and strangers. Humanism may be contemplative and sympathetic. Active humanism, however, which influences human destinies and has a positive impact on the solution of complex problems in life, is far more important. It demands all our efforts in making the people happy.

People like this live a concerned, restless life. They place the interests of society above their own. For the past few years I have observed the work of Dzhamin Akimaliyev, the young first secretary of the Sokulukskiy Rayon Party Committee. He is a candidate of agricultural sciences and has been deputy minister of agriculture of the republic. He could have defended his doctoral dissertation, become head of a university department or, in general, have a smooth life.

Yet, when the need arose, Akimaliyev took up party work. Yet, the work of a first secretary is familiar: He is always responsible for everything. Nevertheless, Dzhamin went to the raykom, knowing that it was there that life is shaped and improved. Life with all its complexities, all its joys and hardships. Dzhamin Akimaliyev is a man of action, spiritually strong. This becomes particularly clear in his speeches at the plenums of the Kirgiz Communist Party Central Committee. He is also a man of modern thinking and

treatment of problems. His speeches have no general or abstract statements on plan fulfillments. He always studies phenomena and seeks the help of science in resolving specific problems.

His specific knowledge is based on his thorough familiarity with rayon affairs. He spends his days and nights in the kolkhozes. He knows everyone and everyone knows him. This is a passionate and totally dedicated man. I recall the thunderstorm which hit Sokulukskiy Rayon at the beginning of May. There was a powerful downpour of rain and hail on the fields. All the crops were hit and perished. This literally hit Dzhamin. He had a heart attack. He was quite young yet his heart was giving up. This is what it means to care for the work. However, the secretary did not stay long in the hospital. He made himself get well. Once again he could be seen in the fields. Dzhamin led the people to struggle against the elements. The kolkhoz members replowed the fields and replanted them. They fertilized the crops and stimulated their growth throughout the summer. Akimaliyev told them what to do and how to do it. As a candidate of agricultural sciences he was familiar with all agrotechnical methods and biological and physiological processes. Enthusiasm and knowledge won. The rayon fulfilled its plan. The planned crop was harvested.

I have maintained relations with many secretaries of rayon party committees. All of them are dedicated workers. However, in my view, Akimaliyev is one of the best trained, cultured, and educated. It is no accident that his rayon is considered one of the best in the republic. Dzhamin is not only properly familiar with economics and agriculture. This may be a decisive factor, for high productivity in the kolkhoz means also that the people are satisfied and prosperous. Yet, Dzhamin is concerned with their spiritual world as well. He has broad cultural interests. He is perfectly familiar with the history of the area. He values traditions and carefully preserves them. Dzhamin reads a great deal. He loves music. He is a good poet himself and has even taken part in amateur performances and radio programs.

He shares with the people his love for literature and art, realizing the tremendous role which culture plays in the life of our society. He sometimes rings me up and shares his impressions on a book or motion picture. If he likes a book he believes that everyone should read it, particularly the young, for, in his view, literature shapes the soul of a person.

I myself occasionally feel the creative support of this deeply dedicated party man. I remember a discussion on my novel "Ranniye Zhuravli" [Early Cranes]. Some critics believe that literature should depict only the beautiful sides of reality. In my view, they wrongly understand the task of creating the image of the working man. If he is a working man, it is alleged, he must be described as working night and day. The other aspects of life--social, private, and so on--should be ignored. Thus, reading the novel, Akimaliyev called me up and we had a long talk on modern literature. I found his interesting thoughts pleasant and useful.

People are the image of the time. In 60 years of Soviet system outstanding people have been molded. Anna Kharchenko, Bektay Dzhumabayev, Dzhamin

Akimaliyev...different destinies and natures. Yet, does harmony consist of similarity and monotony? One cannot achieve harmony in music by using the same note. One cannot create a harmony of colors with a single color. Our society consists of different people with different gifts. However, this is precisely the nature of its harmony: Different people but united in serving human happiness. The features of collectivism and communist idea-mindedness are organically inherent in them. They see the supreme meaning of their lives and the assertion of their individualities in their work for the good of society. It was about such people that I was thinking hearing the report submitted at the session by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman. "We are adopting the new constitution on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," Leonid Il'ich said. "This is no simple coincidence in time of the two biggest events in the life of the country. The link between them is far deeper. The new constitution could be described as the concentrated result of the entire 60 years of development of the Soviet state. It clearly shows that the ideas proclaimed by the October Revolution, and Lenin's legacy are being successfully implemented."

The Great October Revolution marked the advent of a new era in the history of mankind. The developed socialist society we have built is a natural stage on the way to communism. Progress toward this splendid association of people will be the more successful the more comprehensive and varied becomes the molding of personalities and their creative forces, capabilities and talents. In accordance with his natural inclinations every person will gain the freedom of self-assertion. This is guaranteed by the communist ideal that "the free development of everyone is a condition for the free development of all."

5003

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HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE AND TASKS IN NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 77 pp 55-66

[Article N. Zenchenko, deputy chairman, RSFSR Gosplan]

[Text] A landmark such as the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution unwittingly requires an interpretation of the past and the assessment of the new tasks.

In the course of the building of socialism the Soviet people surmounted many difficulties and complex trials, and achieved outstanding successes. This was a time of the birth and establishment of a socialist system, a time of deep social changes, an epoch of the building of communism. This was a new path unknown to mankind along which our country was confidently led by the heroic Leninist party.

Developing the economy, our homeland went forward from one five-year plan to another. Each of them was a substantial contribution to the building of a communist society. The fact that in only six decades tremendous social and economic changes took place in the country, a developed socialist society was built, and the Soviet Union became a powerful industrial state, is largely owed to planning which is a clear manifestation of the advantages of the socialist production method.

From the GOELRO Plan to the Tenth Five-Year Plan

The long practice of economic management in the USSR and the other socialist countries confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist stipulation that the most important conditions for the fast and purposeful development of social production on the basis of an integral plan, starting with planning the work of enterprises and sectors and ending with the coordination of national economic plans of the members of the socialist comity, are the following: The seizure of political power by the working class and its allies; the establishment of public ownership of capital production goods and guidance of economic construction by the Marxist-Leninist party; establishment of state planning organs; and knowledge and utilization of the economic laws of socialism in practical economic construction.

Planned economic management did not appear ready made immediately after the October Revolution. It was organized and developed in the course of economic construction and of the adamant struggle which the party waged against the internal and external enemies of the Soviet system. The reorganization of economic life on a planned basis called for the elaboration of the theoretical and methodological foundations of planning, the search for new forms of production organization, their testing through the experience of revolutionary change, and the creative activities of millions of people.

V. I. Lenin was at the source of the organization of a planned economy. He laid the path to the building of socialism, directed the tremendous revolutionary activities of the Soviet people, and developed the principles of planning and managing a socialized economy. Vladimir Il'ich was the inspirer and organizer of the formulation of the first long-term state plan for great projects--the GOELRO.

The theory and practice of socialist planning was further creatively developed and acquired a profound scientific substantiation in the course of the elaboration and implementation of the five-year plans and the decisions of party congresses, conferences, plenums, and other Central Committee and Soviet government materials. This was a natural process. " . . . No sensible socialist writing about the future," said Lenin addressing the First All-Russian Congress of Soviets of the National Economy on 26 May 1918, "could not even conceive of the fact that on the basis of any advance instruction we could immediately organize the forms of organization of the new society" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 36, p 379). Soviet economic science and practice and outstanding leaders of the communist party and Soviet state such as F. E. Dzerzhinskiy, G. K. Ordzhonikidze, G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy, V. V. Kuybyshev, and N. A. Voznesenskiy made a great contribution to the organization of such planning.

The essence of the socialist planning of the national economy is the profoundly scientific prediction of social developments based on the knowledge of socialist economic laws. Relying on this knowledge, the Soviet state uses the power of the plan in organizing the constructive activities of millions of working people and resolving the socioeconomic problems which arise at each new stage of historical development. Thus, industrialization became an economic necessity in the process of the establishment of the socialist production method in our country. The internal and external conditions of the existence of the USSR demanded the implementation of this task within the shortest possible time. Planning made possible to mobilize the necessary resources for the priority development of heavy industry. This created the necessary prerequisites for rapid industrialization.

The active role which the plan plays in our country is confirmed also by agricultural collectivization. Decisively surmounting all manifestations of unguided socialist reorganization of the countryside, and restricting and expelling the capitalist elements, the Soviet state systematically promoted collectivization, taking specifically into consideration the

characteristics of each stage and part of the country. Consequently, within a short time the last and most numerous class of exploiters was eliminated within a short time. The collectivization method proved to be highly progressive, particularly because it made possible to create within a few years big collective farms which could use new equipment and modern agrotechnical achievements with a view to increasing the agricultural output.

Such tremendous changes could not have been made successfully without big long-term plans and without the entire system of current planning based on the initiative of the masses. "Socialist industrialization and agricultural collectivization, the cultural revolution, and the just solution of the national problem," stipulates the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution," "converted our homeland into a powerful socialist state within a very short time."

The possibilities of socialist planning broadened as the economic role of the Soviet state increased. The elimination of capitalist elements and the victory of the socialist economic system created conditions for encompassing the entire national economy within the state plans and for direct state planning in all production sectors and areas. During that period the economic-organizational and cultural-educational functions of the state, unknown under capitalism, were manifested most emphatically through the plan.

In the periods of peaceful construction socialist planning created a strong base for the military and economic power of the USSR which was successfully used during the Patriotic War in defeating the enemy. The Soviet economy proved to be incomparably more viable than that of the enemy countries.

In the postwar period the possibility to concentrate material, manpower, and financial resources on the most important directions, on the basis of the plan, enabled us to rebuild within a short time the economic sectors destroyed by the war and to insure the further growth of output and people's prosperity.

A new stage in the development of planning began with the October 1964 CPSU Central Committee Plenum when the party undertook the implementation of measures to improve the system of economic management, and production planning and incentive. A scientific approach to economic management was developed at the March and September 1965 Central Committee plenums and in the decisions of the 23rd Party Congress, under the conditions of the struggle waged by the Soviet people for the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism. The basic principles of economic policy were formulated, based on the increased role of economic methods in national economic management, radical improvement in planning and all-round development of moral labor incentives. Conditions were created for the blossoming of the truly communist creativity of the masses.

The experience gained through the new system of planning and economic incentive proves that the shifting of the center of gravity to economic management methods was justified. The measures aimed at improving centralized planning combined with initiative and increased rights and economic autonomy of enterprises and associations are yielding good results. A search for deep reserves for upgrading the pace and the effectiveness of national economic development and work on problems of economic management methods are always present in the work of all production and scientific collectives, and of soviets and party organs.

The economic potential of the USSR practically doubled in the Eighth and Ninth Five-Year Plans. Particularly considerable successes were achieved during the Ninth Five-Year Plan. It was unsurpassable in terms of increased economic power. In the course of its implementation the highest growth of industrial output, capital investments and allocations for new measures aimed at upgrading the people's prosperity was achieved. The list of commodities in whose output the Soviet Union has assumed a leading position in the world was expanded considerably. This includes coal, iron ore, cement, steel, petroleum, and chemical fertilizers. In 1975 the volume of industrial output was 43 percent higher than in 1970 and 17 times higher than in 1940. Within that period the advantages of the socialist system and its historical possibilities were revealed even more completely. Our country reached leading positions in economic, cultural, and scientific and technical progress.

The experience gained in Soviet planning played an important role in organizing the economies of all socialist countries. "Tens of other countries," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 25th Party Congress, "have learned and are learning from us this complex art."

Planning also became a basic instrument for the development of socialist economic integration on the basis of the intensification and improvement of economic and scientific and technical cooperation among CEMA-member countries. The coordination of national economic plans became a process of continuing joint planning activities carried out by the planning organs, sectorial ministries, and scientific and economic organizations of the fraternal countries at all stages of current planning and elaboration of five-year and long-term plans and programs. As a rule, such work is being done in advance. Thus, the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Planning had already approved work on the coordination of national economic plans of CEMA-member countries for 1981-1985 by April 1977.

The high level of development of the economies of CEMA-member countries not only offers new possibilities for the utilization of the advantages of the international division of labor for upgrading the effectiveness of socialist output but offers additional possibilities for influencing worldwide developments.

New Planning Requirements

Long experience in socialist economic management convincingly proves that the management of the economy is the most difficult and most creative of all problems arising after the revolution. This is natural. The economy is a complex and dynamic organism whose development constantly leads to new problems. Resolving them, relying on Lenin's ideas, our party improves planned management, upgrades the scientific level of planning, and systematically implements the principle of democratic centralism in economic management.

The 25th CPSU Congress equipped the party and Soviet people with a scientific socioeconomic program consistent with the requirements of the developed socialist society. We know that the formulation of the 10th Five-Year Plan paralleled the elaboration of the basic stipulations of the development of the country's economy through 1990. This made possible to determine the nature and scale of the tasks facing the country, see more clearly possible problems and difficulties, and focus efforts on their solution. The estimates already made show that at the end of that period the USSR will have approximately twice the volume of material and financial resources compared with the previous 15 years. This will offer new opportunities for the solution of the basic socioeconomic problems formulated in the party's program and at the latest congresses.

The 10th Five-Year Plan will be a new major step in the creation of the material and technical foundations for communism, for improving social relations and molding the new man, and the development of a socialist way of life. The main task of the five-year plan is the systematic implementation of the party's course of upgrading the material and cultural standards of the people on the basis of the dynamic and proportional development of social production and of upgrading its effectiveness, acceleration of scientific and technical progress, increased labor productivity, and all-round improvement of the quality of the work in all national economic units.

The new stage in economic development reflects the most important fundamental features of the party's economic policy. This includes, first of all, its stability and continuity from one five-year plan to another and, secondly, its dynamism and concreteness which take into consideration new processes and phenomena.

The successful implementation of the tasks requires further improvements in economic management in the broadest meaning of the term. Therefore, it is natural that the congress materials would include, among the specific central problems on whose solution party, soviet, and economic organs focus their efforts, the problem of the economic management and of improving the entire economic mechanism. "Our country," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "was the first to undertake a planned management of the economy . . . however, today we too are faced with the task of raising the level of planning and making it consistent with the new scales and aspect of our economy and the new requirements of the time."

With a view to insuring the fuller utilization of the advantages and economic possibilities of developed socialism, the 25th Party Congress stressed the need to intensify the comprehensive influence of the plan, the economic levers and the incentives, and the entire system of management on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, upgrading production quality, increasing social production effectiveness, reaching the required national-economic results, considering more fully in the plans social requirements, and stipulating their satisfaction through the most effective utilization of labor, material, and financial resources.

In accordance with the overall assignments facing the country, in the 10th Five-Year Plan the national income must increase 26 percent. Its absolute growth must equal 93.5 billion rubles and be nearly 14 billion rubles higher than in the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

The comprehensive upgrading of social production effectiveness is a mandatory condition for the successful implementation of the tremendous socio-economic tasks of the new five-year plan. At the present stage this is precisely the key problem in the entire economic policy of the CPSU. It is only through a considerable increase of effectiveness that all economic sectors could be developed at a fast pace, the country's defense capability can be strengthened and ever bigger resources may be allocated to enhance the prosperity of the people.

At the same time, the objective advantages and possibilities of socialism create the necessary prerequisites not only for the further accelerated growth of economic and scientific and technical progress but for increasing its returns. The high level of maturity reached by the Soviet economy is expressed, above all, in the fact that the scale it has reached enables us to undertake the expansion of output through improved effectiveness indicators. Taking all this into consideration, the 25th Party Congress stipulated that the 10th Five-Year Plan was to be a five-year plan of effectiveness and quality. This is one of its main characteristics.

The planning and economic organs are improving planning methods with a view to resolving more completely the problems of improving plan indicators and criteria in assessing the work of associations and enterprises and the efficient utilization of incentive funds. They are looking for new methods for the utilization of new equipment in the national economy.

Studies are being made of the possibility to use as basic criteria of intensive plans indicators such as the level of utilization of installed and the mastering of new production capacities, growth rates of labor productivity, increased production of new items and percentage of superior category output, and increased percentage of profits earned through lowered production costs.

Many ministries, above all, the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry, Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building, and Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building, are working extensively on improving

the principles of the economic reform and on the application of cost accounting to the entire sector. Such ministries are converting to planning and incentive based on the extensive use of economic management methods and the development of cost accounting in their sectors. Such conditions are based on fixed indicators (growth rate of marketable output, pace of labor productivity, percentage of superior quality output, volume of state capital investments, and assignments based on comprehensive scientific and technical programs for sectorial development), as well as normed withholdings from profits; increased correlation between wages and bonuses, on the one hand, and the quality of work and effectiveness of output; and increased ministry autonomy as a result of considerable reduction in the number of indicators included in the annual plans. The ministries will have centralized accounts with the state budget for profit withholdings, regardless of the fulfillment of the profits plans of individual associations and enterprises.

The economic interest of enterprises in producing new progressive commodities and lowering production costs will be achieved by keeping planned wholesale prices and profits from new commodities unchanged until the end of the five-year plan; in the course of the year the enterprises would have the right to use wage savings for making more extensive use of progressive wage and incentive methods.

Unquestionably, the new suggestions related to further improvements in the planning and economic incentive system in a given sector will contribute to higher production quality, greater effectiveness in the use of new equipment in the national economy, and to achieving higher end results of the economic activities of production associations and enterprises.

We also believe that, taking into consideration the increase scarcity of manpower resources in many parts of the country, planned measures should be adopted insuring their rational utilization. The indicator of "number of workers and employees" should be included among indicators planned on a centralized basis. The absence of systematic control has weakened the attention of heads of ministries and enterprises in the struggle for the fulfillment of the plan with a lesser number of workers and employees, and in the economical utilization of the wage fund. The procedure for planning the number of workers applied in recent years in Moscow, Leningrad, and Moscow Oblast, has yielded positive results and its application in other parts of the country would be useful.

Planning improvements require the extensive participation of scientific organizations. As was emphasized at the 25th CPSU Congress, at the present stage in the development of the country the need for further formulation of theory becomes greater rather than smaller.

It should be recognized that a number of problems whose solution largely determines the quality level of national economic planning have been as yet insufficiently developed. In order to take social requirements more

fully into consideration in the plans and insure their satisfaction with the most effective utilization of manpower, material, and financial resources, we need corresponding methods and a system of natural and value balances, and balances of production capacities and manpower resources. The immediate tasks of the planning organs are to improve the organization and methods for the formulation of national economic plans, reduce the time needed for their formulation, and improve the system of plan indicators directing them toward the reaching of end national economic results, and continue the work on the development of systems of physical and value norms applicable to all planning levels.

In this connection the planning workers expect from the economists more profound work on problems of upgrading further production effectiveness; characteristics of the mechanism governing the function of production associations, enterprises, and ministries under mature socialist conditions; population requirements for industrial and comestible commodities and main trends of their growth bearing in mind the characteristics of the various socio-cultural parts of the country and factual disproportions; principles and methods for forecasting processes of production development and cultural constructions; and problems related to scientific and technical, social, and spiritual progress.

We must also accelerate the standardization of the entire set of instruments used in the formulation of the plan, making them most suitable for computerization. All forms and indicators for ministries, departments, union republics, and oblasts should be issued on a centralized basis. In this case the practical experience in the elaboration and publication of forms developed by the USSR Central Statistical Administration should be used extensively.

In recent years considerable work has been done on developing an automated system for plan computation (ASPR) and the application of economic-mathematical methods in the work of the planning organs. However, this work is far from completed and will require more efforts. Furthermore, the methodical guidance of the preparation of the system would require considerable improvements.

In a number of cases existing problems should be resolved on the basis of direct cooperation between scientists and practical workers of planning and economic organs. Extensive experience has been acquired in national economic planning. However, the summing up of this experience and the formulation of specific recommendations are still very poorly organized. The joint efforts of scientists and practical workers would enable us to bring new developments closer to the requirements of the planning organizations and insure their fastest possible utilization. The intensified study of problems related to trends in the development of our society and its production forces is of essential importance. Unquestionably, the activities of planning and scientific organizations related to improving planning and the substantiation of plans will contribute to upgrading the work at all economic levels.

Greater Combination of Sectorial with Territorial Planning Principles

The decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress assign an important role to insuring the concentration of efforts and resources on the implementation of the most important governmental programs and the more skillfull combination of sectorial with territorial development as part of the measures aimed at the further improvement of planning.

The combination of these two most important forms of socialist planning represents, essentially, the factual practical implementation of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism in the development and management of the Soviet economy. This includes, on the one hand, the development of centralism as an obstacle to departmental and parochial trends and, on the other, the use of democratic principles, local initiative, and extensive participation of union republics and local soviets of people's deputies in managing and planning the work of enterprises on their territory regardless of departmental affiliation.

Presently, when the scales of output and capital construction have expanded immeasurably, the proportional development of the economy not only for the country at large but for each union and autonomous republic, kray, and oblast, assume prime significance. Their solution will require even greater integrated target planning.

Unquestionably, the work done in the Ninth Five-Year Plan to improve planning enabled us considerably to improve the formulation of territorial economic plans. The formulation and approval of the five-year plan with its annual breakdown not only by ministry but by union and autonomous republic, kray, and oblast, created the necessary conditions for increasing the role of five-year plans in the economic activities at all management levels. The local party and soviet organs were given the possibility to work more purposefully in insuring the implementation of the plan, develop socialist competition, and upgrade the comprehensiveness of measures aimed at broadening the material and technical base of consumer enterprises and establishments.

In the Ninth Five-Year Plan positive experience was gained in the elaboration of comprehensive plans for the development of the national economy and socio-cultural construction in a number of krays, oblasts, economic rayons, and big cities. Practical experience has confirmed that the proper consideration of sectorial and local characteristics enables us to find the best possible solution to problems of comprehensive development of enterprises and organizations located on the territory of a given rayon regardless of departmental affiliation.

Yet, frequently, the construction of interrelated production and non-production projects is not insured in the building of new enterprises. Possibilities for intersectorial cooperation and requirements related to the protection of the environment, and the comprehensive improvement of the

socioeconomic living conditions of the population are insufficiently taken into consideration. The plans for the development of industry in other economic sectors are sometimes insufficiently backed by the proper and comprehensive utilization of natural, energy, manpower, and other resources of economic rayons, and production waste. Some essential connections among intersectorial complexes are almost totally ignored. Ministries and departments do far from everything possible to develop the industrial and social infrastructure, and general economic capacities.

The need for greater attention to intersectorial territorial problems becomes particularly great in connection with the development of territorial-production complexes in the course of the 10th and subsequent five-year plans. In the Russian Federation complexes are being set up for the extraction of petroleum and natural gas in Western Siberia, natural gas extraction and processing in Orenburgskaya Oblast, the production of ferrous metals on the basis of the ores of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, the development of agriculture and related industrial sectors in the Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR, and the development of production forces in the zone gravitating toward the Baykal-Amur Main Line, and the Bratsk-Ust'-Ilim, Sayan', and South Yakutian complexes. Other union republics as well are planning the implementation of major national economic measures demanding a comprehensive approach.

Tens of ministries and departments are participating in the implementation of the program for the establishment and development of the complexes. The implementation of such programs affects the economic interests of a number of autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts. Naturally, this requires the interrelated solution of sectorial and local problems.

A number of controversial problems are related to the location of new industrial enterprises. Frequently the viewpoints of ministries, and republic and local soviet organs do not coincide. Considering the importance of the proper location of production forces and of the comprehensive development of the economy of individual areas the union republics have adopted corresponding measures. For example, with a view to profoundly substantiating the expediency of building new enterprises the Russian Federation Gosplan and the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies have set up interdepartmental commissions. However, unfortunately, some ministries and departments, councils of ministries of autonomous republics, and kray and oblast executive committees do not always make a profound and comprehensive study of the various alternatives for the location of enterprises and do not fully take into consideration natural and economic factors as well as the need for the specialization and comprehensive development of the economies of economic rayons.

We equally disagree with the tendency of a number of ministries and departments to concentrate industry excessively in the big cities. Such practices raise the cost of operations of the urban economy, worsen the condition of the environment, particularly the air and water basins, and

create unjustified manpower, water, and other shortages. For example, the enterprises of the big cities and administrative centers of autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts in the RSFSR account for a considerable percentage of the industrial output. Meanwhile, industry is developing at a slow pace in a number of small and medium size cities.

We should note that the general and sectorial plans for the efficient location of production forces, formulated by the Council for the Study of Production Forces (SOPS) of the USSR Gosplan and the ministries are not mandatory and are being far from completely implemented. The data of inter-departmental commission for the location of industrial enterprises on RSFSR territory of the RSFSR Gosplan show that over one-third of the enterprises planned by the ministries on the territory of the republic were not stipulated in the plans in advance, and that requests for the building of many enterprises included in the plan were not even submitted.

A fuller combination of the sectorial with territorial planning principles presumes the intensification of the role of union republics in resolving problems of production and socio-cultural construction. The purpose of the comprehensive territorial plans is to insure the increased effectiveness of social production through the proportional development of the economy, the effective resolution of intersectorial problems on the territory of the republic, oblast, and kray, the improved utilization of local manpower and natural resources, and the coordination of ministerial and departmental activities for upgrading the living standard of the population. Such problems may be resolved only through the joint efforts of union, and union-republic ministries and local organs. In turn, this calls for the respective restructuring of organizational work.

The successful implementation of the instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress on improving territorial planning requires, above all, a more precise definition of the legal status of organizations in charge of territorial planning at all levels, the nature of participation of sectorial management organs in the elaboration of the plans, and the mechanism for combining the territorial with the sectorial planning principles within the current economic management system.

The 1965 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees "On Improving Industrial Management" and "On Submitting Additionally for Decision by the Councils of Ministers of Union Republics Problems of Economic and Cultural Construction" were basic. To insuring the territorial planning of the development of industrial output under the sectorial industrial management principle, these decisions stipulated that the gosplans of union republics will draw up plans for the development of the republic national economy for all industrial sectors under union-republic and republic jurisdiction as well as submit suggestions on draft plans for commodity output at enterprises under all-union ministries located on the territory of the given republic. However, frequently such draft plans become merely a combination of sectorial indicators insufficiently reflecting territorial development factors.

Territorial planning could become more effective by strengthening its legal base and insuring the more profound scientific substantiation of territorial developments. To this effect we must intensify the directive nature of territorial plans in terms of the utilization of territorial development factors, insure the implementation of resource plans, and balance the development of material output and services. We must also refine the range of indicators and the list of material, cost, and labor balances included in the plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR and union republics on the territorial level. Additional studies must be made of the categories of comprehensive development of economic rayons in accordance with their specific characteristics, of methods for computing and comparing levels of economic growth of union republics and economic rayons, and of individual economic sectors and the non-production area.

Naturally, the comprehensive plan for facilities located on the territories of autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts could be formulated only if the enterprises, construction projects, and organizations would submit promptly to the local planning commissions the basic information, regardless of departmental affiliation. This would include the basic indicators of draft and approved plans. In such cases the councils of ministers of autonomous republics and the kray and oblast executive committees would be able to consider the draft plans of enterprises (construction projects, organizations) on their territory and submit proposals on them to the respective ministry (department) and the union republic gosplan.

Shortcomings of organizational and scientific-methodical nature hinder the achievement of the fullest possible combination of the principles of sectorial with territorial planning. The country does not have as yet a scientific organization on the union level responsible for the elaboration of problems of territorial planning as a whole. Scientific studies are conducted by small subunits within a number of institutes (SOPS and NIEI [Scientific Research Economics Institute] of the USSR Gosplan, and others). The scientific organizations of union republics and the practical workers of the planning organs are the most effective in their efforts to improve territorial planning. Suffice it to say that the TsENII [Central Economics Scientific Research Institute] of the RSFSR Gosplan was appointed the head scientific organization in charge of "Improving Territorial Planning Under Sectorial Administration."

The shortage of method data is creating difficulties. The current methodical instructions for the formulation of state plans for the development of the USSR national economy, naturally, are directed mainly on the formulation of the plan for the country at large. Yet, the activities of the planning organs of the union and autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts face problems requiring more detailed methodical elaboration. They apply to the development of the fuel and local industries, consumer enterprises, production and allocation of local construction materials, drafting balances of population income and expenditures and labor resources, training skilled workers, and other important sections of the plans elaborated by the union republics.

The study of the elaboration of territorial current and long-term national economic plans indicates that the solution of the basic problems of improving planning on the level of union and autonomous republics, krais, and oblasts, bearing in mind the limited personnel of planning organs and the short time within which draft plans are formulated, is possible only with the extensive use of economic-mathematical methods, computers, and communications facilities.

Scientific research on the development of automated systems for the formulations of draft state plans for the development of the national economy on the sectorial and territorial levels and for supervising their implementation was undertaken in the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

An example of this is the ASU [Automated Control System] of "ASU-Leningrad" urban economy. It is developed as a territorial system combining all economic sectors under the jurisdiction of the Leningrad City Executive Committee. At the same time, its individual main administrations are creating automated control systems for enterprises and associations such as the Main Leningrad Construction Administration, Main Trade Administration, and Main Leningrad Automotive Transportation Administration.

Extensive work is being done to improve the management of Moscow's urban economy with the help of computers and automated control systems. The elaboration of an automated system for data gathering and processing has been initiated for accounting, planning, and managing the economy of some oblasts. Considerable steps have been taken in this direction in Tomsk.

Presently greater possibilities exist for improving planning in union republics. Extensive experience has been gained in the fields of planning, economic, and organizational work. The economic training of cadres has improved and the facilities of republic scientific research institutions have been expanded. This enables us to formulate new assignments for the fullest possible combination of sectorial with territorial development and expect their successful resolution.

Unquestionably, the implementation of the party's requirements on improving planning and upgrading the quality of all managerial work will contribute to the effective development of the economy of our country and to the implementation of the tasks formulated at the 25th Congress and the October 1976 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

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SCIENCE IN THE COUNTRY OF LIBERATED LABOR

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[Article by A. Aleksandrov, president, USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text] As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, the adoption of the new USSR Constitution was the concentrated result of the entire 60 years of development of the Soviet state. The ideas proclaimed by the October Revolution and in Lenin's legacy are being successfully implemented. Let us point out among them the program stipulations on the development of education, culture, and science in the new society.

The fact that developed socialism was built was constitutionally codified. Its constructive forces are being disclosed ever more fully. "In accordance with the requirements of society," states Article 26 of the fundamental law of the USSR, "the state insures the planned development of science and the training of scientific cadres. It organizes the utilization of results of scientific research in the national economy and other realms of life." The achievements in the natural and social sciences contribute to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress on the basis of which material production is renovated, the power of the economy rises, and the defense capability of the country is strengthened further. At the same time mature socialist social relations improve and ever more favorable conditions develop for the all-sided growth of the individual.

Each letter in the new USSR Constitution contributes for the development of the people's masses to become ever broader, as it enjoys the daily support of the communist party and Soviet government.

The Great October Revolution which marked the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind radically changed our entire country. The Leninist national policy, the party's policy aimed at eliminating the age-old backwardness of old Russia involved in the creative process of the revolution a tremendous number of people of all nationalities and faiths. In fact, this was the birth of a qualitatively new country, the Soviet country, which took place under the conditions of a fierce struggle for the establishment of the new system.

The Leninist political line was consistent with the age-old expectations of the working people. That was precisely why in October 1917 the peoples of our country followed the Bolsheviks and supported the Soviet system despite the system that all of the forces of world imperialism helped its enemies who had organized the intervention and the blockade along with conspiracies.

Victory was not easy to come by. The country found itself in extremely difficult, almost catastrophic conditions. The urban population was hungry and so was, in many areas, the rural one. Transportation and industry were practically idle; the young Soviet republic was forced to assume the heavy burden of Spanish influenza, typhoid and spotted fever, abandoned children, banditry, and sabotage.

The Communist Party and the Soviet system faced most difficult tasks: Along with the radical reorganization of the social system they had not only to rebuild the national economy but create conditions for the accelerated social and economic development of the country on an essentially new basis and insure the reliable protection of the revolutionary gains.

Nothing similar to such a reorganization had ever happened before. The road ahead was unknown. At this point we must admire the wisdom of Lenin's policy in accordance with which the implementation of the tremendous social and economic changes presumed the purposeful utilization of all scientific and cultural achievements. " . . . Our hunger will not be satisfied by diluted capitalism," V. I. Lenin wrote. "We must take the entire culture left by capitalist and build socialism from it. We must take all science, technology, knowledge, and art. Without this we can not build the life of a communist society" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 38, p 55).

In the initial months following the victory of the October Revolution Lenin directed the party to drawing the intelligentsia to the side of the Soviet system and converting it into an active participant in the socialist reorganization of society. At the same time he outlined the general line for the guidance of scientific institutions by the state organs.

For the first time scientists began to feel a tangible support on the part of the government: the material concern of the Central Commission for Improving the Life of Scientists (TsEKUBU) and the interest displayed by the Soviet state in the results of scientific work and in comprehensively supporting scientific activities which was a new experience for the scientists.

Lenin's instructions found in many of his theoretical works and verbal statements were embodied in governmental practice which, in the subsequent decade, encompassed a broad range of problems related to the development of science, the improvement of its organizational forms and interaction with economic sectors.

The difficult conditions in which Soviet science was being developed were due not only to the direct consequences of the world and civil wars. The country was surrounded by a ring of economic and political blockade. The west hoped that the Soviet system would be unable to rebuild the economy and culture through internal domestic efforts.

Industry in pre-revolutionary Russia depended entirely on European capital: It employed a number of foreign specialists. Many machine tools, instruments, motors, measurement instruments, and complementing materials for manufactured commodities came from abroad. The Soviet republic had to secure for its restored industry an independent future development.

The small number of higher education institutions in Russia trained specialists in few of the required fields. It was not astounding that many graduates of universities or technical schools in Tsarist Russia went abroad for further training. This too had to be changed radically: a domestic system for cadre training had to be created comprehensively consistent with the requirements of scientific and technical progress.

What was the condition of science in the old Russia? Considering the scale of the country it was insignificant. True, in a number of important areas of knowledge Russian scientists had made substantial contributions and Russian scientific schools enjoyed worldwide fame. However, the majority of important scientific trends had remained totally undeveloped. The Academy of Sciences and the scientific societies played a very limited role.

Meanwhile, in the west, economic and industrial successes were being linked ever more closely with the basic and applied research. The revolution in the natural sciences, based above all on discoveries in physics by the turn of the 20th Century, promised qualitative changes not only in science itself but in the fields of equipment and technology.

Essentially, this was the beginning of a global process which subsequently developed into the scientific and technical revolution which leads (and will lead) to the appearance of new scientific and technical directions, new types of industry, new technological processes, and important changes in philosophical, and basic natural science concepts and, through engineering developments, to many changes in working and living conditions.

Soviet science had to reach the level of the 20th Century alone. The solution of this problem could be achieved only thanks to the party's policy in the field of scientific development.

V. I. Lenin approached the most complex problems facing the country on an inordinately broad scale. Within the overall process of the building of socialism he ascribed exceptional importance to the alliance between science and production, emphasizing that no sinister force would withstand the alliance of science, the proletariat, and technology. Following his legacy, the party always structured its policy on the basis of strengthening this alliance. The fruitfulness of this line was confirmed by reality.

The Leninist policy in the field of scientific development, focused in the leader's statement of "take all science . . . ," within a short time after the October Revolution brought about an unusually rapid development in the USSR of a broad "compact" front of basic and applied research.

As early as 1918 Lenin called upon the Academy of Sciences to undertake the study of production forces in the country and the expedient location of industry. This was accomplished.

The scientific studies conducted by the Academy of Sciences were used by the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO), set up on V. I. Lenin's initiative in February 1920, headed by G. M. Krzhizhanovskiy. On Lenin's suggestion the commission included "the best available forces" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 42, p 341). It employed some 200 of the biggest engineers, specialists in the various economic sectors, and scientists, including I. G. Aleksandrov, B. Ye. Vedeneyev, A. V. Vinter, V. G. Glushkov, G. O. Graftio, K. A. Krug, V. S. Kulebakin, V. F. Mitkevich, D. N. Pryanishnikov, M. A. Shatelen, and others.

On Lenin's instructions the Central Aerohydrodynamic Institute (TsAGI), headed by N. Ye. Zhukovskiy, followed by the Petrograd Physical-Technical Instituted, headed by academician A. F. Ioffe, and others, were organized.

Subsequently, the Instituted of Aviation Motors Building (TsIAM), the Institute of Aviation Materials Science (VIAM), and many others were spin-offs of the Central Aerohydrodynamic Institute. The institute also led to the organization of many design bureaus by outstanding Soviet aviation designers.

The very title of the Leningrad Physical-Technological Institute reflected the new trend: The development not only of basic scientific research but of technological application as well. Indeed, the institute developed, for example, the theory of electric properties of insulating materials and several new types of electric insulation materials which were used by industry, advanced the theory of strength of materials and laid the beginning of nuclear and polymer physics and the theory of the properties of semiconductors.

The development of radio engineering required the creation of new special insulation materials, for the production of quartz and mica involves great technological difficulties. The scientists suggested polystyrene which to this day, 40 years later, remains one of the best high frequency dielectrics.

The physical engineering institute which had previously used synthetic butadiene-acrylonitrile rubber which was not frost resistance developed a method for upgrading its resistance to cold reaching the level of natural rubber. The method was applied by industry.

The most important contribution to semiconductor technology was the diffusion technology developed by the same institute, and, of late, of the theory and technology of heterotransfers.

The institute was the parent of over ten research organizations in various cities. They developed in their various directions and operated in direct contact with industry or the sectorial institutes. Many important theoretical and practical problems to the country were successfully resolved by these collectives.

Here is another example: The state Radium Institute, headed by academicians V. I. Vernadskiy and V. G. Khlopin developed the technology and organized the industrial manufacturing of radium. In its time this was one of the biggest scientific and technical achievements. It helped subsequently to resolve the problem mastering the use of nuclear energy.

The State Optics Institute was set up in 1918. Academician D. S. Rozhdestvenskiy was its founder and first director. It was here, in fact, that the Soviet optical industry was born. In the first years of its existence, together with the just created production facilities, the institute resolved most complex problems of the manufacturing of optical glass and the technology of lens grinding. It developed instruments and many other types of modern optical items.

That same Leningrad Physical-Engineering Institute gave birth to the Institute of Chemical Physics headed by academician N. N. Semenov who discovered the mechanism of branch chain reactions which subsequently found a number of applications (including the nuclear explosion process). The high level of such research earned the institute the Nobel and, subsequently, Lenin Prizes. To this day the Institute of Chemical Physics is one of the creatively most productive institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Similarly, on the basis of the collective of Leningrad Physical-Engineering Institute the Electrophysical Institute, the Ural Metals Institute, the Khar'kov Physical-Technical Institute of low temperatures, the Institute of Semiconductors, the Leningrad Institute of Nuclear Physics, the Institute of Atomic Energy imeni I. V. Kurchatov, and many others were developed.

The Physics Laboratory of the Academy of Sciences developed into the biggest physics institute in the country (FIAN). In turn, it expanded and became the source of a number of collectives which became independent institutes.

It was thus that in the course of all subsequent decades laboratories became institutes and institutes gave birth to new institutes, thus developing the system of Soviet science to this day.

When the blockade of the Soviet republic was lifted the west was amazed to see that our country had not only acquired economic and political stability and that seemingly insurmountable technical difficulties (such as, for example, the lack of raw rubber) had been successfully surmounted by Soviet scientific and industrial workers, but that science had developed considerably instead of declining.

Such were the initial results of the Great October Revolution. Such were the most important process of converting the sporadic science of old Russia into a wide unbroken scientific front of the Soviet Union, organically linked with the increasingly more powerful process of industrialization of the country.

Naturally, all these victories were not easy to attain. The results spoke for themselves. The development of industry and science, capable of developing autonomously without outside help, was one of the most important factors for the stabilization of the new system.

Our people owe the implementation of all the measures which led to the creation of solid scientific, industrial, and economic fronts above all to Lenin who repeatedly emphasized that the main productive force of society are the working people, the cadres possessing certain knowledge and skills. He believed that this was the reason for which surmounting the overall cultural backwardness of the country was a task of primary importance. Before the revolution the majority of the Russian population was illiterate. The education network was very poorly developed. There was virtually no teaching in native languages for many peoples of the old Russia. This intensified their already catastrophic cultural standard. Many nationalities had no written language which was created only after the Great October Revolution.

The fast expansion of the network of primary and secondary schools from the very first years of the Soviet system, the elimination of illiteracy, and the dissemination of a great variety of extracurricular forms of training and education, required the training of a tremendous number of education cadres. The Communist Party and Soviet government spared neither efforts nor funds to accomplish this. A large number of workers' faculties and new higher and secondary specialized schools were opened. Cultural-educational and club work was organized everywhere along with correspondence and night school training. The awakening of tremendous creative forces contributed to the development of all types of useful activities. These processes spread throughout the country, including the former semi-colonial outlying areas whose population had previously led a pitiful life. The Leninist national policy not only uprooted national and religious discord, promoted by the Tsarist government, but contributed to the rapid development of formerly backward peoples.

The establishment of a statehood of an entirely new type--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics--insured the most favorable conditions for the development of all working people in our country. The Leninist course of cultural development--nationalist in form and socialist in content--led to the disappearance of the feeling of inferiority on the part of nations which previously were on the level of colonial populations. This course was the starting point for the monolithic unity of the USSR.

Belorussia is an example. Formerly poor, illiterate, with almost no industry, and without a single higher educational institution before the revolution, under the Soviet system it became a flourishing republic. Today it would be difficult to imagine that at the turn of the century the poor peasantry in this area lived in animal sheds and that even a kerosene lantern was rarely seen in the villages (splinters were the main source of light). Today the republic has reached a high working and living standard. It has a multisectorial modern industry and developed agriculture, 31 higher educational institutions, its own academy of sciences with first-rate institutes, and tens of research, design, and planning institutions in the various economic sectors.

Nor could we forget the fact that during the war about one-quarter of the Belorussian population perished, and that nearly all cities and industrial enterprises were destroyed and many villages burned to the ground. The post-war rebuilding and development of the republic is yet another vivid heroic example of the inordinate creative strength of our society and of the mutual aid among our peoples.

Similar cases are visible throughout the country. The figures characterizing cultural changes in the 60 years after the October Revolution are striking. No other country has experienced anything similar.

In the 1914/15 school year the student population of the country was 10.6 million; in the 1976/77 school year it numbered 94 million (in 1914 primary school students predominated whereas in 1976 most students were attending secondary schools). In the 1914/15 school year the higher educational institutions of the country were training 127,000 students, compared with nearly 5 million in the 1976/77 school year (the highest number in the world). The number of libraries of all types rose from 76,00 to 350,000, and their stock, i.e., the number of printed publications rose over 90 times. Many new museums and painting galleries were opened.

The number of clubs, essentially consisting of culture houses and rural clubs, also increased inordinately: from 200 before the Revolution to 135,00 in 1976. They conduct cultural and educational work on a tremendous scale and are developing amateur activities. Theaters, education and cultural programs on the radio and television, the movies, the various systems of training by correspondence and night school, all kinds of vocational training courses and courses for skill retraining and upgrading, as well as mass lectures (the Knowledge Society alone delivers millions of lectures annually) are having a tremendous positive impact on the people.

The scientific and technical societies of the country number over 7.8 million members. The Knowledge Society has over three million members.

This entire tremendous socially significant activity fills with a rich cultural content the public mind, stimulates the creative forces of the people, and increases the incentive of the Soviet working people to

improve production effectiveness and work quality. Should we therefore be amazed by the millions of suggestions ubiquitously formulated and followed for improving production, transportation, and consumer services? In industry alone in 1976 over four million inventors and rationalizers were able to save about five billion rubles. Let us add to this a number of suggestions implemented every day aimed at improving equipment and technology, impossible to assess economically yet facilitating the work and improving its safety or esthetic qualities, and providing other types of social results.

Today we could note with satisfaction that the spiritual level reached by our people would be inconceivable in any capitalist country.

Yet, as we said, the starting point was exceptionally low.

The fast development of education in all parts of our homeland and the exposure of all nations and nationalities in the country to culture yielded its results.

Everywhere young cadres were trained--knowledgeable, and eager to join the process of historical creativity. This was an important prerequisite for the industrial and cultural development of the central Asian republics, and the areas of the north, Siberia, and the far east.

The scientific "headquarters"--the USSR Academy of Sciences--also developed systematically. Its structure improved. New research organizations were set up and the network of scientific institutions widened. Comprehensive academic institutes were set up in a number of areas and were given the task to develop scientific directions particularly needed by the regional economy.

The republics set up Academy of Sciences branches. In the course of time, as the number of necessary highly skilled cadres grew, whether national or coming from the center, and as scientific research developed successfully, they were converted into republic academies of sciences with their own institutes and scientific-organizational subdivisions.

The first such academy was set up in the Ukraine in 1919. Today all union republics have their own academies. Furthermore, in recent years regional scientific centers were developed (the Siberian Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Ural Scientific Center, the Far Eastern Scientific Center, and others). Their efforts are directed above all on the development of production forces in their areas. Gradually their importance is exceeding these frameworks and is contributing to the all-round upsurge of industry, education, and culture.

Along with the system of academic institutes, a considerable system of sectorial sciences developed in the country. It is resolving problems related to improving production processes, upgrading the quality of industrial output in their sector, and developing new more progressive commodities. Sectorial science uses the results of academic studies.

In recent years new forms of combining science with production have been developed: Complex institutions combining research, design, and technological subdivisions (scientific-production associations, and others).

Such is, in its general features, the picture of today's Soviet science.

It was precisely the implementation of the Leninist principle of alliance and close interaction between science and industry that enabled our country to resist the technically well-equipped fascist Germany in the Great Patriotic War. The experience in centralized economic management enabled the country, despite the critical situation, to relocate a considerable percentage of its industry in the east, create new raw material bases, and rapidly redirect the scientific and technical potential to the solution of strictly military problems. We are proud to point out that the Soviet scientists made a substantial contribution to the victory over the enemy. The enemy's magnetic and magnetic-acoustic mines, aviation, and tanks were effectively counteracted by our technical facilities. In a number of directions in the field of military technology such as, for example, radar and counter-radar, jet artillery, and the combat qualities of tanks, aircraft, and artillery we outstripped the enemy. This accelerated the defeat of fascism.

The socialist system opened infinite scope for the development of social production forces and extensive opportunities for the blossoming of talents. This is natural, for it is only under socialist conditions that scientific and technical progress becomes most consistent with the interests of all working people and, on the other hand, the end tasks of socialism--the building of the foundations of communism--could be implemented only on the basis of the practical utilization of the achievements of science in public production and the social area.

The successes of Soviet science are universally known. It is developing steadily on the growing power of the economy and culture in the country while, at the same time, in turn it stimulates their progress.

Science develops unevenly. New facts and ideas frequently radically change established views and concepts and, consequently, either reject them or else introduce within the system a more general concept which opens new paths of knowledge and practical work. The discovery of new phenomena and of connections among them always triggers a rapid and explosive development of research, the appearance of new methods and practical uses of knowledge and even the development of entirely new directions.

Inevitably the new fights its way into reality. What is noteworthy in this connection?

In the natural sciences using precise computations, observations, or experimentation, objective criteria for the choice of concepts exist. The only proper way is to rely on them. However, it may happen that in order to establish their positions some workers act differently: They appeal only

to the opinion of authorities, deliberately support an obsolete viewpoint, are unwilling to look straight at the facts, and, above all, adopt an uncritical attitude toward their own views and actions. However, subjectivism has no place in true science. When it concerns objective truth we must be honest and principle-minded as we are taught by the founders of Marxism and all scientific classics, and as is demanded of us by the communist party.

The violation of this line could intensify the unevenness of scientific development which is harmful to the interests of both science and our society.

By solid scientific front I do not mean that all possible scientific directions are of equal value. This would be untrue and, in practice, would result in an extremely thoughtless waste of forces and funds. Efforts must be focused on the most important directions. However, the system of scientific research in general should be such that wherever a new "growing point" of a given science or technology may appear, whatever its area of knowledge, the country's institutions must notice it, assess its possible significance knowledgeably, and, if necessary, engage without delays in the development of the new directions based on this "point of growth." Lenin's slogan of "gaining time means gaining everything," addressed in its time to the strictly economic competition with capitalism, is even more applicable to science under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution.

To this effect the scientific organizations must develop research even further. The seminars sponsored by the institutes must offer a broad survey of the condition of science in their field and in related areas. The scientific youth must broaden its outlook and must be particularly well oriented in the basics of related disciplines. The methodical and instrument base of the institutes must be "generalized," so that small additions or changes would make possible to organize the work on the necessary level in any new direction by replacing merely the specialized elements or assemblies.

The development of science, as a whole and in its specific directions, also depends on the extent to which the scientists and organizers of the research process are talented, and what specific areas of knowledge and practice interest them most. However, there is also the viewpoint of the interests of the state which determines the system--academic or sectorial--within which it would be more expedient to develop one or another project. A conflict between individual and social interests may arise. In such cases the party conscience of the communist is the best umpire while the criterion governing the choice is the interest of the collective project, and scientific and technical progress as a whole. Occasionally, organizational complexities arise as well. There timely disclosure and firm elimination are important.

The attention of the scientists is drawn by the problem of optimizing the combination of the basic with sectorial work. In general, in my view, this is resolved normally and the results are effective. This has been the case, for example, in many areas of space research and the development of space technology, nuclear power, and quantum electronics. Naturally, however, not everything is ideal and smooth everywhere. Consequently, in certain situations the scientists must adopt a scientific attitude toward the organization of their own work. In such cases the party organizations must give them substantial help.

It may happen for a sectorial institute or industry to delay the use of developments supplied by the Academy of Sciences. This may be caused by two reasons: The insufficient completeness of the proposals submitted by the scientists or the unwillingness of the sector to accept the academic development instead of its own. These are annoying petty matters. The practice of formulating joint plans by the Academy of Sciences and the sectors or, in the case of complex multisectorial problems, work on the basis of the comprehensive plans of the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Science and Technology proves that such problems can be entirely eliminated.

Speaking of the condition of the sciences in our country let us note the important role of research in higher educational institutions. The higher school system includes over 60 scientific research institutes and design bureaus, about 1,300 scientific research laboratories and sectors, and others. Their activities are coordinated by the Scientific and Technical Council of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education. The first regional association of scientific institutions based on a higher school was created in the USSR in 1969: The Severo-Kavkazskiy Scientific Center which coordinates the scientific activities of over 40 VUZ's and 60 scientific research organizations in the area. Contracts for creative cooperation are concluded between VUZ's and enterprises stipulating the joint development of scientific and technical problems and the practical utilization of their results.

Another valuable feature is that the research subdivisions of the higher schools could and should make extensive use of all students. This upgrades the level of training of the future specialists and encourages the creative initiative of the young people.

Approximately one-third of the overall number of scientific workers in the country are attending higher educational institutions. So far, however, this scientific potential has been insufficiently used. The practice of involving VUZ's in the comprehensive programs drawn up by the USSR Council of Ministers State Committee for Science and Technology and of the USSR Academy of Sciences is very useful.

The overall result of the growth of scientific cadres in the country after the October Revolution is the following: Before the Revolution, in 1913, there were 11,600 workers in the sciences, including VUZ professors; in

1976 there were 1,253,500. In the overwhelming majority of fields Soviet science is on the level of the most advanced countries while in a number of directions it holds a leading position. The conditions governing its development in the Soviet Union insures our scientists with tremendous possibilities for free creative toil, and the greater use we make of such opportunities the greater the effectiveness of our work becomes.

It is noteworthy that the development of science has become a matter not only for the scientists but for the party and the entire people.

The attitude toward science in our country was most aptly expressed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 25th CPSU Congress: "The party's course is to continue to display constant concern for the development of great science . . ." This is also the further development of the Leninist line concerning Soviet science and the basis for the development of science in a developed socialist country.

Wherever the party organizations give their daily help to science--which is the case in most republics, krays, and oblasts--science brings tremendous benefits and becomes a direct social productive force.

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GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION--TURNING POINT IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 77 pp 77-87

[Article by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary of the GDR state council; article published in the SED Central Committee journal EINHEIT, No 10-11, 1977]

[Text] The 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is nearing. This outstanding anniversary is drawing the attention of both friends and enemies, for the event which took place on 7 November 1917 and the subsequent events changed the course of mankind's history. The victory of the Red October is the main event of the century. Marking the beginning of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale, it opened a way to the radical renovation of the life of the people. Since then the nature of all major class battles and the course of history itself have been determined by the laws of this process.

I.

In those days which "shook the world," workers, soldiers, and seamen, the Russian proletariat, headed by V. I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, overthrew the rule of the capitalists and landowners and established the Soviet system. They created a new, socialist state. They thus executed the sentence of history passed over the exploiting system in their own country while, at the same time, accomplishing a great international feat. The heroic struggle of the workers and peasants in Russia, as V. I. Lenin wrote with full justification, "shows to all countries something quite essential related to their inevitable not distant future" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 41, p 4). This meant the elimination by the peoples of obsolete social relations and the creation truly worthy human living conditions under socialism.

Since then the working class seized the power in a number of countries and is building a socialist and communist society and implementing the humanistic ideals of freedom, justice, and fraternity. Rallied around the Soviet Union, the socialist comity is the most stable and dynamically developing

progressive area on our planet. It provides a powerful impulse in the struggle for peace and originates a number of new proposals aimed at insuring a durable peace. It is precisely under the influence of these facts that the movement of the peoples for national and social liberation is developing ever more strongly. The ranks of the fighters against imperialism are widening and strengthening. The lines reached along this path of progress not only mark the successes reached so far and the accomplishments of the present and the plans for the future but also show the all-embracing influence of the Red October.

The 20th century began under the mark of imperialist omnipotence. This omnipotence came to an end in 1917. The victory of the October Revolution and the great liberation exploit of the heroic Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War against Hitlerite fascism, inspired by its ideals, and the establishment and strengthening of the world socialist system convincingly proved that historical progress can not be stopped. Imperialism still has considerable reserves which, as indicated by experience, it is ready to utilize at any moment should this offer it any possibility to hold back mankind along its path to progress. It is entirely clear now, however, that mankind will enter the 21st century, slightly over two decades distant, exclusively under the mark of socialism and communism, and the fall of the last bastions of the old capitalist world.

In the days of the 60th anniversary of the Red October our party, government, and people of the GDR emphasize with a feeling of profound satisfaction and pride that they are linked by the close ties of brotherhood with the CPSU and the USSR. Our friendship is forever. It is the solid base for achieved and future successes in the building of socialism and in the implementation of the SED policy earmarked at its Ninth Congress, aimed at the good of the people. Our fraternal alliance is the living embodiment of the legacy of the Red October. The best sons of the working class and the progressive forces of our people always dreamed and tirelessly struggled for such an alliance.

Our unforgettable Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, enthusiastically welcomed the victory of the Red October as "the beginning of the greatest turning point in the history of mankind." He wrote: "On 7 November 1917, for the first time the proletariat seized the power not for an instant in world history but seriously and once and for all. For the first time the proletariat won not only a battle but the entire war . . . against the exploiters the world over." It was essentially this that distinguished the Red October from all previous revolutions. The working class resolved in its favor, in the interests of the working people, the main problem--the problem of power. Any one of the revolutionary coups in the past led only to the substitution with a new exploiting system. However, for the first time the October Revolution fully eliminated the rule of the exploiters. In the words of Marx and Engels it embodied the victorious movement of the overwhelming majority in the interest of that same majority.

In the flames of the Red October the Bolshevik Party, armed with the Marx-Engles-Lenin doctrine proved to be the leading force of the working class, toiling peasantry, and all people's masses in the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism. Loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism this party of a new type made extensive use of all the instruments of the class struggle. It relied on a profound knowledge of the laws governing social development, the historical initiative of the working class, and the revolutionary creativity of the masses. Applying Marxism-Leninism under specific conditions it developed this doctrine systematically.

Lenin's party, the CPSU, frequently proved that it was the most experienced and trained vanguard of builders of socialism, and the leading detachment in the international class struggle. It is the ideological inspiration, political leader, and organizer of the working class and the other working people in all the great initiatives characterizing the course of development of the Soviet state after the Red October, making its example even more attractive. The CPSU has always systematically acted in accordance with the Leninist principle according to which the victory of the revolution is secured only when the revolution is able to defend itself. Following this principle, the Soviet state defeated the internal counter-revolution and foreign intervention. The country's working people were able successfully to resolve the most important and most complex problem of the socialist revolution and build a new society, accomplishing that which no one had succeeded in accomplishing previously and that which, as V. I. Lenin said, had never been written about.

The piratical attack launched by Hitlerite Germany was the most severe trial experienced by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union defeated the aggressor, saved mankind from the threat of barbarism, and laid the beginning of a new stage in the world's revolutionary process, in the course of which socialism exceeded the limits of one or a few countries and became a world system. With this second liberation exploit of historical significance the Soviet Union opened the way to a new future for our people as well. It was in the name of this that 20 million sons and daughters of the USSR sacrificed their most precious possession, their lives. Their memory will never be forgotten. In the fiercest battle of history the heroic Soviet people defended the gains and ideas of the Red October. Socialism irrevocably proved its force, viability, and superiority.

Presently the Soviet people are following the path earmarked at the 25th CPSU Congress, a path of great accomplishments serving not only the upsurge of their own material prosperity and culture. Such achievements are of decisive significance also to world socialism, progress, and peace. The Soviet Union built a developed socialist society. The efforts of the party and the people are directed toward the creation of the material and the technical foundations for communism, the gradual reorganization of socialist into communist social relations, and the education of the people in a spirit of communist conscientiousness. This involves problems never facing any other country or ever being resolved.

Drafted under the guidance of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the new USSR Constitution reflects the profound historical changes in the life of the Soviet state and opens new horizons for its development on the path to communism. This is a most important document of the creative conversion of Marxist-Leninist doctrine into revolutionary practice. Addressing the May 1977 CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the draft of the USSR Constitution, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated: "We could say in general that the main direction of the new features contained in the draft is the expansion and intensification of socialist democracy." Unlike class limited democracy, this democracy is entirely consistent with the interests of the toiling people. Insuring the unity of rights and obligations, socialist democracy offers every citizen the possibility actively to participate in the administration and planning of social affairs at the highest level.

In the socialist society democracy and freedom are reality rather than meaningless statement as is the case under capitalist social conditions. The new constitution of the USSR proves that in Lenin's country the rights of man for which all nations and all progressive forces are fighting have been achieved in full. They include the right to work, rest, health care, education, culture, freedom of speech and press, assembly, meetings, and demonstrations. Existing socialism is proving to be to an ever greater extent a humanist society in which the toiling man is the main value and in which his prosperity is the basic purpose of all social efforts. This social system offers all opportunities for the free development of the individual, opportunities which, as we know, are comprehensively restricted and curtailed for the predominant majority of the people in the capitalist society.

Sixty years following the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the socialist world shows an exceptionally impressive example of a most equitable social system serving the interests of the working people. The stably and dynamically developing socialist system gives everyone social confidence in the future and clear prospects. Conversely, the capitalist world is experiencing the upheaval of ever new crises. It is ruled by social insecurity, unemployment, inflation, and stagnation. Such are its realities. The anti-national nature of the monopoly system is clearly manifested, in particular, in the fact that it deprives a considerably percentage of young people of the opportunity to exist and to acquire an education, a skill, and a job, describing it even as the "unnecessary generation." All this convincingly proves that socialism is the only historical alternative to capitalism. Socialism is exerting ever greater influence on the contemporary development of our planet. The future belongs to it.

II.

The gains and ideas of the Red October left their mark on the revolutionary process in the GDR as well, from the creation of an anti-fascist-democratic system to the present building of a developed socialist society. The inner stability and international prestige of the republic and the entire vital force of our worker-peasant system are the historical confirmations of the

universality of the laws governing the building of socialism and of the founding experience acquired by the Soviet Union. We used these laws and experience in accordance with the specific conditions of our struggle. Displaying a creative approach, the SED formulated a corresponding political course. That is precisely why it was able to make its contribution to the practical proof of the fact that the basic principles governing the building of a socialist society are valid not only when one or another prerequisite exists but under all circumstances.

The development and strengthening of the GDR took place in the course of constant close interaction with the growing forces of socialism and peace on an international scale. The establishment of our worker-peasant state was assisted from the very beginning by the support of the Soviet Union and its cooperation. This cooperation expanded and intensified with the socio-economic development of the GDR. Our experience irrefutably proves that such interaction raises the stability and accelerates historical progress in the country.

The GDR has become forever an inseparable component of the socialist comity. It has assumed and is firmly holding its place among the ten most industrially developed countries in the world.

Life in our country is determined to an ever greater extent by the continuing building of a developed socialist society in accordance with the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress. The greater the progress we achieve along this way the deeper and broader the advantages of socialism become. Naturally, this is not to say that the path to the communist future is simple and smooth. As our party program stipulates, at the present stage of social development a historical process marked by profound political, economic, social, spiritual, and cultural changes is developing in the GDR. The guidance of this process requires a creative approach and innovation, high level responsibility, and initiative. The results it has achieved of late in improving the life of the working people have been particularly considerable. It is clear to everyone that all our efforts are focused, in the final account, on insuring the maximal prosperity of the people.

In the past decade the relations of reciprocal trust between the republic's working people and the SED strengthened particularly. The influence of the leading force--the working class--on the development of social processes increased steadily. Its allies--the cooperated peasantry and socialist intelligentsia--are actively contributing to the blossoming of our republic. The toiling classes and strata in the country are cooperating ever more closely in the process of social reorganization. Their rapprochement is based on the revolutionary ideology of the working class which is decisively assisted by the party's political and educational work. It is equally noteworthy that lengthy processes such as surmounting major disparities between town and country and between mental and physical labor are determining to an ever greater extent the practical efforts and are being implemented through the adoption of a number of specific measures.

As we know, our main task is to upgrade further the material and cultural standards of the people on the basis of high rates of development of socialist output, higher effectiveness, scientific and technical progress, and increased labor productivity. Thus, the 1976-1980 five-year plan is equally consistent with the objectives of our program for insuring increased prosperity and stability.

Whereas in 1975 the GDR national income was 142.4 billion marks, in accordance with the plan, it will reach 182.2 billion in 1980 (in terms of 1975 prices). The volume of industrial commodity output which totaled 233 billion marks in 1975 will reach 312.2 billion in 1980. The plan stipulates that the annual retail trade must rise from 81.9 billion marks in 1975 to 99.5 billion in 1980. In the final year of the five-year plan 164,500 apartment units will have been built or modernized. In 1975 they totaled 140,800. In the course of the five-year plan 850,000 apartments will be built or modernized. This is unquestionable. The GDR has never before experienced housing construction on such a scale. The first year of the five-year plan was completed successfully. The republic's national economy is continuing to develop on a stable and dynamic basis in 1977 as well. All efforts of millions of working people who have launched a socialist competition in honor of the Red October Anniversary are focused on this.

The revolutionary changes in our society, directed toward creating prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism, are being implemented at a fast pace in all realms of life. Practical experience has shown that upgrading the political conscientiousness and labor enthusiasm of the citizens is of decisive significance to strengthening the material and technical foundation for socialism and insuring stable rates of social progress. Insuring the close and constant unity between politics and economics requires the daily attention of the entire society and of its leading force--the Marxist-Leninist party. In the final account, the prerequisite for any significant success in the national economy as a whole or achievements in individual industrial sectors and combines is found in active political and ideological work and increased production intensification. It is only by upgrading quality production indicators that we could reach the necessary growth rates of industrial output and, most importantly, satisfy better the specific needs of the people and of our entire society.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the upgrading of its economic effectiveness play a decisive role. Our party devotes a great deal of efforts to link science with production even more closely. This will enable us to make even greater use of the advantages of socialism. This objective requirement determines today the adamant need for further improvements in the planned socialist economy.

The implementation of our policy in the field of social development and, particularly, its social objectives, is based on the noticeably rising pace of scientific and technical progress. The importance of this is enhanced by the fact that the influence of the growth of prices on the

imperialist market, experiencing a deep crisis, influencing prices in CEMA-member countries as well, could be compensated only by a substantially increased productivity. That is precisely why scientific and technical progress must contribute also to upgrading the export possibilities of the GDR national economy which determines most of all the stability of our economic growth.

Since the beginning of the 1970's it has become possible to upgrade faster the material living standards of the working people in the GDR. The results of building a developed socialist society have become more tangible in this area as well for every citizen of the republic. Thus, the population's net income has been rising by an average of 4.7 percent annually since 1971. Retail trade increased simultaneously while prices remained stable. The consumer qualities of goods, their appearance, and their consistency with modern scientific and technical standards are becoming ever more important to the consumers. A more precise consideration of population requirements and higher quality are the factors determining the basic direction of all economic efforts in terms of population supplies.

A characteristic feature of our social policy is the purposeful solution of a number of problems of key importance to satisfying the needs of the working people and the development of the individual. A most important example in this case is the housing problem which, as a social problem, must be systematically resolved by the GDR by 1990. Starting with 1971 and by the end of July 1977 some 843,430 housing units had been built or modernized; this improved the housing conditions of approximately 2,540,000 GDR citizens. The accelerated pace of housing construction is already yielding tangible results. Even though varying within the republic, such results are visible on several levels, for better housing conditions offer more favorable possibilities for family life, upgrading the skills of the working people, and improving the variety of the leisure time.

We are observing a noteworthy phenomenon: Socialist benefits which became available at the very initial stages of the building of socialism are now offered in considerably greater quantities and, to a certain extent, on a higher level. Thus, universal primary education which in the past consisted of the first eight grades has now reached the level of the tenth grade general educational polytechnical secondary school. More favorable conditions were created for working women to use their equal rights and, above all, combine better their jobs with motherhood. The fast increase of the birth rate in the GDR proves that the conditions of our society are contributing to its increased rate and that the measures implemented in the republic are meeting ever more fully the vital needs of the people.

Concern for the social prosperity of the people has always been inherent in socialism. However, as socialist society develops, the prerequisites on which such prosperity is based grow as well. The utilization of the achievements of socialism on a higher level demands, naturally, greater funds. In this sense as well the Ninth SED Congress properly emphasized that only that which has been produced could be consumed.

Our main task is based on the very essence of socialism: to do everything for the good of the working class, for the good and happiness of the people. It was emphasized from the very beginning that a close interconnection exists between objective and means, and between raising the living standard and increasing output. Social progress calls for greater labor productivity which, in turn, stimulates social progress. The measures implemented in our country to improve living conditions unquestionably contributed to the upsurge of the labor activeness of the citizens. Thus the strategy on which our economic policy is based energized the motive forces of socialism and contributed to the acceleration of socioeconomic progress.

Unlike the situation in the capitalist countries, a great upsurge may be noted in all realms of social life in the socialist comity. The members of this comity coordinated the main trends of their economic strategy at the present development stage. They proclaimed as their primary task the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the working people and the thus required intensive development of output. This unified approach is another confirmation of the universal significance of the basic laws and experience of the building of socialism in the present development stage as well. It is entirely obvious that such unity increases the possibilities for fruitful cooperation.

Our party has always considered the international cooperation with the Soviet Union and all the members of the socialist family of nations an objective necessity. Practical experience proves that the more each fraternal country uses this favorable opportunity the more stable and dynamic its development on the path to progress becomes. Guided by this fact, the SED is making an active contribution to the broadening of mutually profitable cooperation. Today the scientific and economic relations between the GDR and its partners--the fraternal countries--are closer than ever before. The solution of important problems such as the development of the scientific and technical revolution or the long-term stable availability of raw materials is possible only through the joint efforts of the fraternal socialist countries.

It was precisely on this basis that agreement was reached in the course of the 19 July 1977 Crimean meeting with Comrade L. I. Brezhnev on the elaboration of programs for specialization and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the GDR for the 1980-1990 period. This agreement is linked with long-term target programs formulated within CEMA. In the course of the forthcoming decades the significance of socialist economic integration will increase even further both in terms of the upsurge of the prosperity of all participating nations as well as the further successful development and strengthening of the socialist comity as a whole.

III.

The sixty years which have passed since the victory of the October Revolution are six decades of tremendous class battles and changes the world over. These were also years of adamant struggle waged by the Soviet Union for

safeguarding the peace, a struggle which has run through the entire socialist foreign policy of the Soviet state from its very beginning. "End to the war and peace among nations, an end to plunder and violence--this is precisely our ideal . . . ," wrote V. I. Lenin, particularly emphasizing the struggle for peace must be waged in close connection with the revolutionary class struggle ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 26, p 304).

Lenin's Decree on Peace met with a tremendous response on the part of the entire world, for it expressed the vital interests of all peace-loving people. Since then again and again the call of the Soviet Union has been heard: "To all, to all, to all!," as an appeal for peace. This appeal reflects the essence and objective of the state which was the first to build socialism and to become the main and most powerful bulwark of the struggle for the implementation of this human ideal.

In our time the possibilities for the successful waging of this struggle and its results have increased immeasurably. Above all the ratio of forces in the international arena has changed substantially in favor of socialism. The defense power of the Soviet Union is not the least important in this connection, a power which should leave not doubt of the inevitable defeat of any possible imperialist aggressor. The joint forces of the Warsaw Pact members are a reliable guarantee of the protection of the revolutionary gains of our peoples.

However, it is precisely the comity of socialist states that is pursuing a constructive and systematic policy of peace and of insuring security and detente. It threatens no one. Conversely, it is doing everything possible to eliminate forever the truly threatening danger of a new world war. The joint efforts of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other fraternal countries are aimed at changing the condition of the absence of war everywhere, particularly in Europe, with a lasting peace. This is consistent with the interests of the building of socialism and communism and would equally benefit all nations.

The principles of peaceful coexistence have become a determining factor governing relations among countries with different social systems. These relations must develop in such a way that controversial matters may be resolved without the use of military means, promoting mutually profitable cooperation, and making peace a natural way of life of the peoples. This, as we know, is supported everywhere even by the realistically thinking political leaders of the capitalist countries who realize that peaceful coexistence has no sensible alternative. Naturally, assuming proper positions, some of them hesitate, show indecisiveness, and yield to the pressure of the opponents of peaceful coexistence.

The fact that after World War Two, for the past 30 years Europe has lived in peace convincingly proves the great influence of socialism on international affairs today. There have been plenty of imperialist concepts and actions hostile to peace, particularly in the cold war period, and

peace on our continent was frequently seriously threatened. However, all efforts to block the path to historical progress and hurl the peoples back into the past and, above all, to eliminate the GDR as a sovereign and independent socialist state of workers and peasants and include it in the realm of monopoly domination, failed shamefully. Thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity a turn to detente occurred on the European continent.

The Helsinki security and cooperation conference became an important landmark in the development of this process. A great deal of useful accomplishments have been made since then to strengthen the peace in Europe and insure its peaceful present and future. However, this does not suit the interests of reactionary imperialist circles who believe that balancing on the brink of a world nuclear war would bring them success in implementation of their plans and objectives. That is why they are launching concentrated attacks against detente. This makes the active efforts of all realistically thinking forces aimed at improving further the political climate on the European continent even more necessary.

In accordance with the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress, the GDR is making its constructive contribution to strengthening the peace, security, and peaceful coexistence. It favors the implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in full and tries actively to contribute to the reaching of new positive results in the course of the Belgrade meeting. If the international-legal principles of inviolability of borders, sovereignty, and territorial integrity are acknowledged and observed, together with non-interference with domestic affairs, and the use of such principles as a basis for relations among countries with different social systems would make possible for such relations to develop normally, as relations of mutually profitable cooperation. This applies fully and entirely also to the relations between the GDR and the FRG.

One of the most topical problems of the international politics is putting an end to the arms race and adopting specific measures for limiting armaments and for disarmament. We could say that it is precisely the struggle for the solution of such problems that indicates the gravity of the confrontation concerning the essence, content, and objectives of peaceful coexistence. NATO is once again urging on the arms race, allocating record funds for military purposes. The development of the neutron bomb and cruising missile by the United States triggered the decisive objection of the peoples. The crying immorality of those who consider profits to be the most important thing is manifested in the fact that they even praise such mass destruction weapons which "merely" kill people without destroying material values. Meanwhile they belittle the danger of a nuclear war. The prevention of such a war, strengthening the peace and security, disarmament and thus protecting the life of the peoples and insuring their peaceful future are the imperative of our time and a testing stone of the foreign policy of any country.

Our party and people would have been pleased for the PRC to resume its position in the struggle for strengthening the peace and international solidarity. Unfortunately, this has not occurred. The study of available data on the Eleventh CCP Congress gives no grounds for assuming any kind of realistic approach on its part on matters related to the preservation of the peace. Furthermore, not only were the old assertions on the imaginary inevitability of a third world war reiterated at the congress but were even accompanied by gross attacks against the Soviet Union--the main force in the struggle for peace. This course hostile toward the Soviet Union is being obviously approved by all enemies of the peace and detente. This is not astounding, for anti-Sovietism is the main element of all hostile actions against detente, a tool long used by imperialism. Anti-Sovietism must be firmly rebuffed. The entire practical experience acquired since the time of the Red October confirms that the Soviet Union is properly continuing the work of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Even though anti-Sovietism can not prevent this, it could greatly harm the interests of the peoples. At the Ninth SED Congress we proclaimed our readiness to normalize relations with China in accordance with the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference, and other principles of international law. Should China return to a policy truly founded on Marxism-Leninism, and should it abandon its course hostile to the socialist countries and to take the path of cooperation and solidarity with world socialism, our country will react correspondingly.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries the GDR is always aspiring toward the intensification of detente and to controlling the arms race, disarmament and elimination of hotbeds of war still existing in various parts of the world. We are confident that the opposition of the enemies of detente to disarmament and to strengthening the peace could and should be crushed. This is entirely consistent with the basic principles of the policy earmarked at the Ninth SED Congress. That is how we assess the circumstances taking into consideration the tremendous changes which have taken place in the international arena under the influence of the Red October, changes which are becoming faster and faster as the forces of socialism grow.

Implementing the course of the Ninth SED Congress we shall continue to promote the further strengthening of our socialist GDR on the path laid by the October Revolution. Constantly improving the life of the people of our country and acting as patriots and internationalists to the extent of our possibilities we are bringing to light the significance of socialism, proving what it can accomplish. We are linked with the ties of solidarity with all fighters against imperialism, wherever they may be defending the cause of freedom and progress.

Continuing the building of a developed socialist society, we are also creating the basic prerequisites for a gradual conversion to communism. This is a great and inspiring cause containing the breath of the Red October.

OCTOBER'S LESSON: CREATIVE APPLICATION OF MARXISM-LENINISM

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[Article by Valeria Benke, politbureau member, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee, editor in chief of TARSADALMI SCEMLE, theoretical and political journal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; article based on a report delivered at International Theoretical Conference of Theoretical and Political Journals of Central Committees of Fraternal Parties of Members of the Socialist Comity on the subject of the "October Revolution and Present Times," held in Warsaw on 13-15 September.]

[Text] Celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the October Revolution, we are celebrating the anniversary of the greatest event of our epoch with which we are linked by our own history and our present life and future; we are linked with it by the victory won by the Soviet Union over internal and external enemies, after surmounting thousands of trials, a Soviet Union which built the developed socialist societies; we are linked by the unquestionable reality of the world socialist system and world communist movement. We are also linked with this event also through the historical successes achieved in the elimination of the colonial system and the struggle for peace, social progress, and further dissemination of the ideas of socialism. The ideas of the October Revolution illuminate our work days, and constructive toil aimed at building a humane society and at establishing truly human relations among people and nations.

The ideas of the October Revolution have become a manual for action for the broad popular masses. Following is an excerpt of a letter received by the editors of TARSADALMI SCEMLE signed by Hungarian mechanic Istvan Vamos: "To me personally October is not simply a holiday but something different, bigger. It is the beginning of a movement of which I am a part. Its objectives and ideals are my program for life. They determine my actions. I know that my views and actions, even most insignificant ones, are a particle of the implementation of precisely such objectives. Such in the possibility which history has offered me. It is also a great responsibility, for we know that even though in a big historical perspective social laws always make their way daily policy is made by people. Yet, as we know, people are not error proof. That is why the October Revolution is the mirror against which I judge of today's reality and can see what we have

accomplished and what remains to be done. I am convinced that its objectives are true in their entirety and in their particulars. This is not only because they are based on scientific theory but also because these specific objectives have coincided and continue to coincide with the objectives and desires of the toiling masses."

As a rule, in the history of mankind revolutions have been either drowned in blood or the victorious strata ignored the slogans inscribed on their banners. What became of the bourgeois society's calls for "fraternity," "equality," and "liberty"? What social system exposed mankind to more destructive wars, calamities, and cruel violence more than capitalism? It was only the victorious Socialist Revolution that was the first in history to remain true to itself and its ideals and programs, retaining this loyalty for the past six decades . . .

The best representatives of mankind thought and dreamed of socialism and of a collectivistic society for centuries. However, socialism was developed on a truly scientific basis and became a real social program based on historical laws only through Marx's theory. Excellent spiritual thrusts aimed at easing the life of the people and establishing justice existed before and after them and many such noble aspirations could be found today as well. However, they were unable to become a truly motive force of history, for they lacked, as do their present varieties, two elements: a theory based on the scientific analysis of social factors, processes, and trends, to reflect them properly, and a revolutionary party, the vanguard of the working class, able to embody this theory in the life of the organizations which it could unite and lead to the struggle of the oppressed masses.

Lenin played a decisive role in the implementation of this historical turn. His theoretical and organizational genius blended with his tremendous will-power and passionate combat capability. Firmness and passion were qualities Lenin needed in the difficult period of discord in order to apply creatively Marxist theory in answering the question of whether or not the revolution could win in a single backward country. Elaborating a program for revolutionary action in the changed historical conditions, Lenin's thoughts were in the true Marxist spirit. Developing Marx's idea that practice is the testing stone of theory and that a system of ideas is not a sum total of ready made theses but a system of thoughts, Lenin was fully justified in writing that "it would be the greatest of errors if we were to lay the complex, vital, and rapidly developing practical tasks of the revolution on the Procrustian bed of narrowly conceived 'theory' instead of considering that theory is, above all and more than anything else a manual for action" ("Poln Sobr Soch" [Complete Collected Works], Vol 31, p 44).

The victory of the October Revolution and the entire hard but glorious distance covered since then was a confirmation of Lenin's thought, asserting the correctness of the main feature of Lenin's method: the creative use of theory.

The October Revolution was won on the basis of a revolutionary situation which had ripened during the terrible trials of a world war. It was won thanks to the powerful revolutionary activities of the people's masses headed by the Bolshevik Party. However, along with the inordinate scope and tremendous energy of the revolutionary activities of the working people, the creative application of Marxist theory was a mandatory condition for this victory. What did the creative application of theory mean at that time and under those circumstances?

After February 1917 the question was formulated as follows: Could the bourgeois-democratic revolution develop into a different stage, grow into a socialist revolution, and could the socialist revolution win in a single country quite different from the other big capitalist countries? Lenin's answer was simple: yes. Furthermore, he pointed out that this transition had already begun. He recognized that essentially the soviets represented a specific form of worker-peasant dictatorship and that the course of the revolution had therefore developed not precisely in accordance with existing concepts. Under such circumstances to cling to the previous forms would have meant to paralyze the revolutionary action. Those who considered the transition of the revolution to the subsequent stage untimely and "for acting strictly in accordance with previous ideas" received Lenin's following answer: ". . . in general the Bolshevik slogans and ideas have been entirely confirmed by history. However, specifically matters have developed in a way different from what could be expected by anyone, in a more original characteristic, and varied fashion.

"To ignore and forget this fact would mean to resemble the 'old Bolsheviks' who have frequently played a sad role in the history of our party, repeating a thoughtlessly memorized formula instead of studying the characteristics of the new living reality" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 31, p 133).

After the victory of the October Revolution the question became the following: Could a Soviet system be retained in backward Russia wrecked by the war? There were even many Marxists, both in Russia and throughout Europe, who doubted it. A revolutionary situation had developed in many European countries. Lenin too expected other revolutions to follow the revolution in Russia. However, the moment the revolution abated he reached the only possible conclusion that the Russian proletariat had no right to relinquish the power but had to undertake the building of socialism in a single country.

The European "orthodox Marxists" accused Lenin and the Bolsheviks of rejecting the principles of Marxism, departing from Marx's concept of the revolution, and promoting a Blanquist policy. They ascribed entirely the victory of the October Revolution to skillful tactics and believed that such a victory could be only temporary for, in the view of the critics of Lenin's policy and theory, socialist revolutions should begin in the most developed capitalist countries. Referring to Marx they failed to notice that they were rejecting Marx's very spirit and method of thinking. They failed to

see the changes which had taken place in historical reality and either forgot or failed to understand that theory must again and again be corrected by practice and that revolutionary theory is the theory or revolutionary practice.

Lenin's analysis of the situation was far from exhausted by the practical consideration of the deployment of political forces and the search of the most suitable political forms. According to Lenin the specific study of a specific situation was based on the systematic application of the Marxist method and theory. The correctness in assessing specific political forms and finding the most important consecutive links of revolutionary action were based on Lenin's theory of imperialism and deep knowledge of the specific historical characteristics which had governed the development of Russian capitalism.

This was one of the greatest lessons of the October Revolution: The communist parties could resolve successfully their problems only through the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory, taking into consideration the characteristics of the conditions under which their activities were developing. The specific study of a given situation and the creative application and further development of theory should not be pitted against each other or implemented to the detriment of each other. They were equally necessary for successful revolutionary activities. This necessity was determined, among others, by the fact that the course of history is always more flexible, more complex, and more "tricky," as Lenin said, than could be precisely predicted by any theory (which meant that the inflexible support of specific forms of political activity--even though correct in the past--could lead to serious errors in a new situation); secondly, this necessity was determined (as was also pointed out by Lenin) by the fact that the transition from capitalist to communism will create a tremendous wealth and variety of political forms.

Taking as an example some lessons of the building of socialism in Hungary I would like to show the way the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party has tried to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively in its political activities. Let us immediately emphasize that in this as in all other areas of socialist construction we try to use the experience of the international workers movement and of the fraternal socialist countries. Comrade Janos Kadar wrote the following in the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM: "Along with its own experience, the combat experience of the international workers movement, the experience of the fraternal parties, has always been of determining importance to the VSRP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]. Our party has always learned from all communist parties and revolutionary forces. The rich theoretical and practical experience of the CPSU, founded by V. I. Lenin, and of the development of the first socialist state in the world which laid the path to the future, are of particular importance to us. The revolutionary forces of the world have always turned to the infinite treasury of the historical experience of the USSR celebrating this year the 60th anniversary of the Soviet system. Thus shall it be in the future."

The first time that a workers system was created in Hungary was in 1919. The Hungarian Soviet Republic was established, regardless of the sharpness of class battles, peacefully. However, the young workers state which followed the path of the October Revolution, lasted only 133 days and was crushed by the far superior forces of international imperialism.

For the second time the Soviet Union brought freedom to our country in 1945. Our homeland took the path of a people's democratic revolution. In the course of the revolution the positions of the working class in the socio-political life of the country as a whole strengthened further and further and, thanks to the proper combination of parliamentary struggle with the struggle of the masses, in economics and state administration in particular. In 1948 the two parties--the Hungarian Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party--merged on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. Thanks to this the power was fully assumed by the working class allied to the peasantry. Gradually productive capital was nationalized and extensive socialist industrialization was undertaken. In the first half of the 1950's, however, the process of socialist construction was hindered by severe errors and distortions. The initiated process of their correction was interrupted by the 1956 counter-revolution which, as a whole, was the consequence of reasons such as sectarian and dogmatic policy, revisionist treason, and the activities of domestic and foreign counter-revolutionary forces. However, thanks to the international help of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, the supporters of socialism within the country were able to suppress the counter-revolutionary camp and save the socialist system.

Since then, for over two decades, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party has pursued a clear and systematic political course. Thanks to it, after gross errors and obstacles on the road to development, which occurred in the 1950's, a period of dynamic socialist construction, a period of stable constructive labor, free from political upheavals, followed. The main features of this political line were formulated at the December 1956 Central Committee Plenum and the 1957 All Hungarian Party Conference. The establishment of the constructive course which is still guiding our policy was characterized by Comrade Janos Kadar as follows: " . . . essentially, the party did not invent anything new. It simply went back to the sources of Leninism and used them."

One of the conditions for the systematic implementation of a policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles was the fact that the party had to assess realistically the development of the country in the first decade following the liberation and, particularly, in the first half of the 1950's. Assessing this period, the party reached the conclusion that despite severe political distortions and illegalities, and despite erroneous decisions in the field of the national economy and the excessive use of administrative management methods, our country was building socialism. The party opposed those who questioned the socialist nature of that period as well as those who wanted to belittle the gravity of the errors then committed.

The return to the Leninist norms of party life called for strengthening party unity and for the practical implementation of the principle of collective leadership and of a Leninist work style, and the development of party democracy and democratic centralism. Striving toward clear ideological positions within the party, we also waged a decisive and successful struggle against nationalistic feelings and for strengthening and developing internationalist relations linking us with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries. The party's position on the program for and methods of building a socialist society in Hungary was a firm principled base for the struggle waged by the communists and made possible to eliminate the confusion among those who did not oppose socialism but who erroneously understood the interrelationship between national traditions and the general laws governing the building of socialism. The party was thus able to insure the understanding and support of its policy by the toiling masses. The party tried to provide answers to the vital questions asked by the masses indicating the solutions and leading to practical action, working to promote the necessary harmony between the daily tasks of the building of socialism and the more distant objectives to be reached in the future.

Two decades ago, in the reconstruction period, our party began its work by rebuilding the trust which had weakened for a while as a result of its sectarian and dogmatic errors used by the counter-revolution. Since then the party has always seen to it that the pace and methods of the building of socialism would be precisely coordinated with the extent to which we are able to convince the masses of the working people of the correctness of our terms of our objectives.

The consolidation of political forces was the most urgent task following the suppression of the counter-revolution. The party knew that the most important problem was to strengthen the system. For this reason, in all its subsequent activities, it took great care to see that the blows were only at the enemy and that the toiling masses and the intelligentsia sympathetic to the ideas of socialism would not become alienated from our system. The struggle systematically waged on two fronts in which the party did not make concessions on matters of principle concerning sectarianism or opportunism played a major role in the exceptionally rapid consolidation of political forces.

This method was adopted by the party in resolving the next important problem: the socialist reorganization of agriculture. This took place in our country from 1958 to 1961. The solution of the problem was hindered by the fact that earlier, in the 1950's, many extremes had been allowed in this area (frequently cooperatives were set up through administrative methods). Now, however, the party strictly observed the Leninist principle of voluntary participation. This policy was attacked from two sides: Some believed that the creation of cooperatives was premature, stating that it lacked the necessary economic conditions; others wanted a socialist reorganization of agriculture to be accomplished by using coercive methods against the middle

peasantry. The party rejected both erroneous viewpoints and, using all economic means at its disposal, and engaging in patient political and educational work among the masses, successfully accomplished the socialist reorganization of agriculture. This success is confirmed, in particular, by the fact that in the period of reorganization agricultural productivity rose instead of declining.

Thanks to this yet another of the foundations of socialism was laid in our country, thus completing the laying of the overall foundations.

The political situation was analyzed and the changes which had taken place in social relations were evaluated at the Seventh and Eighth Party Congresses at which the forthcoming new tasks in the building of socialism were also formulated.

In accordance with the party's assessment of the situation the importance of the policy of alliances under the conditions of a strengthened people's system did not decline. Its major role was retained in the field of our relations with the non-party members as well. Along with other factors, the practical implementation of the policy of alliances was assisted by party decisions such as dropping restrictions related to social origin in school enrollment as well as the consistent observance of the principle which enabled non-party people to assume any position or leading post, naturally outside the party system.

Along with the strengthening of the big agricultural enterprises, priority was given to new tasks of industrial development as one of the numerous tasks in the building of socialism. The industrialization of the provinces which was carried out also contributed to the elimination of the tension which had developed between central and outlying areas. Disparities in the development levels of individual areas were reduced and the urbanization process was developed considerably. The increased strength of the working class in the capital and in the provinces strengthened the political base of the party and contributed to the rapprochement between the two main social classes.

The steady improvement of the living standard, naturally, consistent with existing possibilities, i.e., with achieved results, was the cornerstone of our economic policy. Using the experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, we tried to give economic development a direction which would insure the increased concentration of production forces and the optimal utilization of the republic's natural and economic resources.

As early as the 1957 VSRP All-Hungarian Conference the party paid particular attention to the development of planned economic management. It favored a reduction of the excessive and unsubstantiated centralization in economic management and the increased autonomy of industrial enterprises. "We must develop the type of favorable combination between central management and local autonomy," the conference resolution stated, "a combination which,

under the conditions of a planned management of the economy, would insure the highest level of manifestation of local initiative." The completion of the foundations for socialism, the economic problems which arose in the mid-1960's, as well as the entry into a period of intensive national economic development made extremely necessary the timely improvement of economic management methods.

A new system of national economic management, approved at the Ninth Party Congress, was introduced in 1968. Its purpose was to achieve a more accurate combination of centralized management and industrial enterprise autonomy. Basing the requirements of socialist planned economic management on the incentive of industrial collectives, the purpose of the system was to implement such requirements by stimulating local initiative and activity. Naturally, the importance of planning was not reduced. However, changes took place in the range of related tasks: the national economic plan determined, above all, the main ratios of economic growth and development. The purpose of the controls governing economic management was to insure the implementation of the tasks included in the short and medium range plans within the framework of the enterprises' economic activities.

As a whole the new system of economic management justified the hopes placed on it even though certain shortcomings were revealed in the course of its implementation. The necessary corrections were made on the basis of an all-round study of the practical utilization of the new system even before the 11th Party Congress. On the basis of the decrees of the 11th Congress new decisions were made aimed at the further development of economic management.

Our national economy was subjected to unexpected and mostly adverse influences as a result of the economic crisis which broke out in the capitalist countries. The course which our economic policy was to follow under the new conditions was earmarked in the decisions of the 11th Party Congress. The main task after the congress was to insure the type of reorganization of the production structure which would enable us to meet the needs of the country more comprehensively and flexibly and insure its more effective participation in the international division of labor, i.e., to achieve higher returns per unit of used resources. We had to strengthen the factors stimulating more effective work and the more expedient utilization of manpower and capital assets. Greater attention was to be paid to improving the organization of labor thus revealing more completely available resources and accelerating the solution of the problems created by manpower shortages. Another important task was to intensify centralized management combined with increased enterprise autonomy and more expedient involvement of science in economic work, acceleration of technical development, and fuller utilization of the possibilities of the socialist international division of labor.

This factor was particularly noted in the decisions of the 11th Party Congress which described it as "the main condition for our progress." That is why we are applying all our efforts within CEMA in the interest of promoting socialist economic integration and insuring the full implementation of the complex program.

The building of a socialist society means not only the multiplication of productive capital and material goods but the reorganization of social relations which are reproduced along with the material reproduction process. The party directs this process in such a way as to achieve the most profound reorganization of social awareness. The strategic task is to develop in the broad population strata a socialist awareness and outlook and achieve a radical restructuring of the way of life, mores, and human relations. On this basis, like the fraternal parties of the socialist countries, the VSRP ascribes particular importance to the extensive dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Our party continues to take into consideration the fact that people who agree with the program for the building of socialism and support it actively without being conscious Marxists-Leninists armed with a scientific outlook could be sincere supporters of socialism. However, good relations with our supporters and allies do not exclude in the least but even presumes ideological polemics. This is consistent both with our views and practice of human communication. In this case we consider that the constant decisive opposition to hostile political views is a necessary prerequisite. We strive to make ideological discussions means for strengthening the contacts and relations established with our political allies. That is why we argue not against people who profess views different from our outlook but precisely for their sake, in order gain them over, dedicating all our efforts to the comprehensive triumph of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Strengthening in our people the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, we are systematically fighting bourgeois ideology, nationalism, cosmopolitanism, and other ideas alien to socialism.

The successful progress achieved in building the new society brought about the development of socialist national unity whose strengthening is continuing firmly. The unity of basic interests of the leading and bigger class of our society--the working class--and the peasantry and the basic strata of the intelligentsia and the employees concerning the most important objectives of the building of socialism has become the objective social base for this process.

Naturally, basic agreement on such matters does not mean in itself unity or identity of outlook. Yet, we can not, and it is simply impossible rigidly to separate the attitude toward the policy pursued in the country from conceptual aspects. Views on social life and, above all, political convictions, represent an important structural part of the outlook. That is why loyalty to the cause of socialism and active participation in the building of socialism represent for a considerable segment of the working people not only the starting point in the mastering and adoption of a Marxist-Leninist outlook but a possibly determining factor in this process.

In this connection the 11th VSRP Congress noted that in accordance with the course of the entire social development the influence of Marxism-Leninism in our country has grown. Socialist conscientiousness has

developed. A socialist morality and a corresponding way of life have become widespread. New results have been achieved in the field of the socialist cultural revolution. Yet, the party also pointed out that negative trends still exist and are even intensified from time to time in some cases, such as petite bourgeoisie characteristics in thinking and behavior.

In accordance with the congress' decisions, in October 1976 the VSRP Central Committee passed a decree summing up the experience and formulating new tasks in the field of ideological work. Considering these problems, the Central Committee also formulated its own position on topical essential problems of developed socialism, proletarian dictatorship, and proletarian internationalism, noting that the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the struggle against bourgeois ideology require answers to the new problems arising in the course of the progress achieved by our own society.

In turn, the party sought and found answers applicable to the entire society, above all in the field of the already mentioned problems of national economic upsurge. Another similar example is that of the further development of class relations and ownership relations (including the establishment of amounts and sources of personal property acceptable to the socialist society, and accurate interpretation of the socialist principle of division according to labor and means for its practical improvement, the party's course toward the further development of socialist democracy, and others).

Production relations which, in the final account, determine all other areas of human social life, require particular attention from the viewpoint of building a developed socialist society and the further development of the overall social system. Our concepts on the socialist reorganization of social relations will be implemented to the extent to which we progress in our socialist distribution of material goods, including the all-round development of democracy. In turn, such concepts influence all areas of life and, through proper efforts, the way of thinking as a whole and of the moods and ideological circumstances prevailing in society.

The principle of distribution according to labor is a powerful lever for the reorganization of social relations on a socialist basis. The desire to distribute moral recognition and material goods in accordance with the work done presents socialism as a labor society in the eyes of the broad toiling masses.

At the present stage of the building of socialism, while paying the necessary attention to increasing to the extent of our possibilities social support of large families and a number of other categories of working people, we set the task of improving the mechanism of distribution according to labor, and elaborate a specific system of means and differentiated methods for assessing labor activities on the basis of productivity. Naturally, this is not only a matter of wage policy. This principle could

be implemented only through the complex interaction of economic, political, and moral factors. The same complex nature distinguishes its influence on the minds of the people, on their social relations, and on the establishment and strengthening of the socialist system of values. In other words, the socialist principle of distribution according to labor is one of the most important conditions for the ideological identification of the individual with socialism.

In the course of our ideological and educational work we can not forget the fact that daily practical experience has the strongest possible influence on the awareness of millions of working people. In this case, however, far from always are major socialist achievements reflected directly. Our changing and constantly developing reality does not always have a direct, not to speak of automatic influence on the mind. Our life still includes many contradictions and conflicts. Some of them could be explained not only in terms of the awareness of morality inherited from the past or external foreign influences. Various types of shortcomings in production and services, weak links in the management system, excessive administration, underestimation of natural economic processes, or else weaknesses and breaks in the interaction among various economic sectors create a chain of hindrances and sometimes lead to the appearance of income disproportions among citizens. Furthermore, earning methods alien to the socialist principles may also surface. The surmounting of such trends and insuring harmonious conditions for social activities are our tasks and present concerns, requiring our decisions and influence on social processes.

Past experience shows and cautions us that ideological work, the shaping of public awareness, and the reorganization of moral relations could bring about desired results only if they are consistent with the objective facts of social reality which influences the mind through specific experience. Only in this case could education efforts yield lasting results.

Equally erroneous are the views of both those who rely on the automatic and spontaneous development of the awareness as well as those who support concepts of the "omnipotence" of ideological education. Reliance on ideological programs, regardless of the influence of social practice, and reliance on agitation instead of the solution of problems and conflicts arising within the society is as erroneous and harmful as attempts to justify political passiveness and ideological indifference with the claim that if things are as they should be there is no need for agitation whatever.

Socialist conscientiousness and feeling of responsibility for the common cause have always been and will remain a powerful motive force in the implementation of the tasks. The example and organizational abilities of leading workers, above all within the ranks of the working class, led to the creation of methods such as the movement of socialist labor brigades. In the past 15 years the best among them have become nuclei of collective labor, education, and democratic management and control.

The party organizations and party members are, above all, the initiators of conceptual changes, the force which accelerates and strengthens this process. They not only proclaim our ideas and become their bearers but play a most active role within the framework of socialist democracy in the implementation and further development of the party's policy and its leading role, and in the solution of the entire set of problems related to the building of socialism.

Cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries is of tremendous importance to our educational work and ideological activities and struggle. We are linked not only through powerful energy systems but, above all, through common ideas, objectives, tasks, and achievements in theoretical and ideological work. Of late topical problems of theory are being discussed ever more frequently. Cultural relations among socialist countries are becoming ever broader and richer. A method for joint work such as conferences of secretaries and central committees of fraternal parties on international, ideological, and party construction problems has been solidly established.

We are convinced that this path must be followed, tirelessly strengthening cooperation based on common outlook. Our joint task is to repel firmly the new outbreak of ideological attacks on the socialist countries. Our international cooperation in the fields of economics, politics, and ideology can successfully oppose the anti-Soviet propaganda urged on by reactionary circles in the capitalist world, concealed behind the "human rights" label or other false slogans manipulated by the opponents of the policy of detente.

The accurate and proper understanding of the requirements of the ideological struggle becomes particularly important along with our efforts to promote the interests of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. We must combine the defense of our ideas and social system with a convincing demonstration of the achievements of socialism, the profound humanism of our society, and the practical results achieved in the development of our constantly improving socialist democracy. We must learn to struggle more effectively against all refinements of bourgeois propaganda and all attempts to question the historical confirmation of the justice of existing socialism.

We have all the necessary reasons for convincingly substantiating the real fact that our social system is superior to capitalism: the socialist countries deserve the credit for what mankind has achieved in the interest of a calm and stable life of the toiling masses, improving materially as much as culturally, in the interest of developing human social relations and of enabling the peoples on our planet to live in peace and security.

Looking at the development over the past 20 years we could confidently say that the building of socialism successfully progressed in our country and that our future rests on solid foundations. Naturally, errors and omissions were made in these 20 years. However, remaining on the basic foundations

of Marxism-Leninism we were able to carry out the most important assignments promptly and satisfactorily. We owe a great deal of our achievements to the fact that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party tried systematically and completely to apply the great Marxist-Leninist doctrine and, formulating its tasks, always proceeded from the concrete study of reality. However, victory becomes reality and the most profound study of a situation could become a force of action only when a policy capable of mobilizing the broad masses is followed, and when the majority of the members of society accept and support such a policy, actively involving themselves in its implementation.

Party unity, the living tie between party and people, the constant strengthening of the trust between them, and the Marxist-Leninist policy of alliances between the working class and all working people are necessary prerequisites in this case.

As the party of the ruling working class, the VSRP nevertheless does not rule but guides, manages society, conceiving its role as a service in the interest of the toiling masses. "The leading role of the VSRP is manifested to the fullest extent in the life of our society," states the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 11th Party Congress. "The VSRP has always emphasized that the building of socialism is the cause of the entire people, for the people themselves are the force which makes history. The close link and unity between the party and the people, and the reciprocal trust between the party and the masses mean to us a great deal, more than anything else. The people know that whatever the circumstances they can rely on our battle-tempered party for the party is confident that in resolving any problem it would be able to rely on the people, on the socialist unity of the nation which is growing with every passing year."

The world has changed in the past six decades. Today, looking at the distance covered in connection with the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we can claim with a clear conscience that after the trials and critical moments of history the positions of socialism, social progress, and peace throughout the world are far stronger than ever before. Today no one doubts that the beginning of this turn, decisive to the history of our time, goes back to October 1917 and that the Soviet Union, born in the flames of the October Revolution, has always played a leading role in the processes which have transformed our world over the past 60 years. Already then, when it had to defend socialism at the first and, at that time, the only socialist country in the world, when it was forced to undertake and carry out the building of socialism in hostile capitalist encirclement, when it faced a most severe trial in a desperate struggle against fascism, at all those points of history the peoples fighting for their independence and against imperialism and for socialism, as well as the countries entering the path of socialism always found in the USSR a reliable support. They were always able to rely on its internationalist aid. The Soviet Union and its peaceful policy played a decisive role also in the fact that after the tense period of the cold war in Europe and the entire world a process of detente could be initiated.

In order to expand and make this process irreversible new successes in the field of social progress, and the active cooperation among peace building forces and their unity must be achieved. In his speech at our party's 11th Congress Comrade Brezhnev emphasized with full justification that "the creation in the world of a climate in which potential aggressors, lovers of adventures and sabre rattling will encounter the ever more decisive and comprehensive opposition of the peoples, in which the peace, security, and belief in a peaceful future will be made available to ever broader masses in the various parts of the world is an objective worthy for the dedication of the efforts of anyone who loves his people and thinks of the progress of mankind." Today we can already say that insuring a peaceful future for mankind and the continuation of detente are no longer merely dreams but a process enjoying real support. Mankind owes this to the victory of the October Revolution and to its offspring--the Soviet Union. The economic, political, and military strength of the socialist countries, of the USSR above all; the revolutionary workers parties in the capitalist countries; the peoples liberated from colonial yoke and fighting imperialism; and the broadest possible masses of peace loving forces throughout the world all serve as a guarantee that the process of detente will become firm and irreversible.

The social changes initiated with the great victory of October 1917 can now determine the future of the entire world--a future representing peace, democracy, and socialism.

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INEXTINGUISHABLE LIGHT OF OCTOBER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, pp 100-105 LD

[Article by Luigi Longo, chairman of the Italian Communist Party]

[Text] Whenever we speak of a historic event on such a scale as the October Revolution it is hard to rid ourselves of the feeling that we will fail to convey in full its significance and its influence on the present situation in the world and on the further development of events--the substance of that event is so complex and multifaceted, and the viewpoints from which it is possible to consider it are so diverse.

On the other hand, there is the constant risk of repeating truths which have already been stated many times and which may therefore seem no more than formal statements.

And yet, if there exists an event in history which defies formal celebration since it was and still is living and active, then it is undoubtedly the Great October Socialist Revolution.

I have had repeated occasion to use an image which strikes me as very apt: Red October formed such a strong "force field," to use the language of physics, that it brought about profound changes in the very course of history, changing its polarity and direction. These dynamics have not weakened over the past 60 years; they have given rise to new phenomena and opened up the way for diverse political and social movements on all latitudes.

A geographical map shows well how this sphere of influence is spreading; now more slowly, now rapidly, but in any case irrepressibly and irreversibly.

The process begun by the October Revolution, like any historical process, did not develop and is not developing straightforwardly; it is experiencing contradictions and difficulties, but is constantly being enriched with new and unknown experience, and more and more new contributions are being made to it.

This conclusion is too obvious for anyone to be able to dispute its objectivity. From whatever viewpoint we look at the October Revolution, even from the viewpoint furthest removed from us in the ideological sense, it appears as a historical fact which determined the nature of the modern epoch and as a turning point in the development of modern civilization.

Having said this, it must be acknowledged that there still exists an extensive field for historical and political analysis of the events of October 1917 in Russia, because these events are not simply a "holiday date," and we must not content ourselves with any one stereotyped explanation of them; this would contribute merely to a historical "freezing" of the October Revolution and to a denial of the fact that it still retains tremendous political and cultural potential today.

In the course of further elaboration of the subject, other investigators are faced with making a more profound and authoritative analysis of the historic significance of this event and its influence on the present day than the author of these lines can do.

But I would like to describe some impressions--albeit disjointed ones--ensuing from my many years' experience of party work in Italy, a country which has known the most degrading aspects of capitalism from the political viewpoint. For us, as for many antifascists and democrats, in the years of the fascist dictatorship the Soviet Union was not only a source of concrete assistance but also a powerful factor of political and moral confidence.

In one of my latest books, in which I gathered together my reminiscences (unfortunately, I am already at the age when people take up pen and paper to sum things up) and reflections on the first years of the Italian Communist Party's activity, I compared two of my memorable visits to Moscow: in 1922 to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Revolution and in 1967 for the 50th anniversary of October.

I still remember well those first days of November in 1922, which is now so distant. Moscow was already in its winter attire after the first snowfalls. At that time the city appeared before me just as we knew it from descriptions and pictures disseminated in the West. With the exception of the historical monuments--the Kremlin, Red Square, Kitay-Gorod [literally Chinatown], the Lubyanka and certain other brick or stone building--Moscow consisted of wooden houses, poor but built with the talent and taste characteristic of the Russian peasant, who is renowned for his ability to create out of the most widespread and accessible material--wood--not crude sheds but dwelling houses, or "izbas," decorated with ornamentation or carving executed with great skill by local craftsmen in accordance with ancient folk traditions. On the outskirts of the city there still remained traces of poverty with which the young Soviet power had not yet had time to cope with at that time.

Consequently, Moscow's appearance was not too different from its image in tsarist times, with which we were familiar from the works of the great Russian writers of the 19th century.

I believe Moscow was developing at that time at its old natural pace, but he who, like myself, was encountering this reality for the first time, could not fail to notice the birth of a new, intense atmosphere in which unusual phenomena plainly showed through; the collective desire to preserve the fruits of the revolutionary victory, to hold out against external encirclement and to overcome the tremendous, indescribable difficulties encountered while creating the foundations of the new society, a society with totally different ideals.

In 1922 the Soviet Union, which was still only being born, the Communist Party, its leaders and rank-and-file communists and all the country's working people were fighting a historic battle whose outcome was in no way predetermined. They were faced with the unknown, the unforeseen dangers were arising--for they were building a society which had never previously existed in the world.

In 1917 it was actually proved that the proletariat is capable of overturning the old correlation of forces and liquidating their former state even in one country taken separately (and it is a most interesting fact that this occurred in precisely that country which none of the so-called Marxists in the West had considered a suitable theater of operations for such a turn-about). But it was one thing to carry out a victorious revolution and another to try to build for the first time a society which had no historical precedents by which it was possible to be guided and supported. The communists' task was a difficult one. "It was necessary to win over to the side of the new state," Antonio Gramsci wrote in 1920, "the loyal majority of the Russian people. It was necessary to show the Russian people that the new state was their state, their life, the embodiment of their spiritual aspirations and their most precious property, and that it accorded with their traditions" (A. Gramsci: "Selected Works in Three Volumes," Foreign Literature Publishing House, Moscow, 1957 vol 1, p 25).

This test--the very first and most important one--was passed. "The state of the Soviets," Gramsci continued, "had its leading detachment--the Bolshevik Communist Party; it enjoyed the support of the industrial workers, who were a minority in society but the most conscious section of the working people's class and who expressed the vital and constant interests of this whole class. The state of the soviets has become a state of the whole Russian people thanks to the persistence and insistence of the Communist Party, the ardent faith and enthusiasm of the workers, energetic and unwearying propaganda and the explanatory and educational work of the Russian Communist Party's outstanding figures led by the clear and inflexible will of the teacher of all working people--Lenin" (Ibidem).

Thus the Soviet communists and working people won the historic dispute, not only having "outlived" the difficulties but also moving forward, building the new society day by day despite mistakes, dramas and tremendous human and material expenses.

When I returned to Moscow in 1967 to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, I recalled how everything had been there 45 years before and tried to compare my new feelings with my old impressions.

Now I was in one of the world's major capitals, in the capital of a socialist country which had become in just a few decades (but what decades!) --and despite the war which had taken away so many human lives and caused such material damage--the world's second power.

Moscow had greatly changed. The old part of the city, which preserved in full its imperishable beauty, seemed still more ancient against the background of new forms of urban development and modern buildings. But its symbolic significance had increased still further, because the Kremlin not only remained the place where the most important decisions were concretely adopted but was also, as it were, the material embodiment of strength and continuity whose depth no one in the world could deny. The qualitative changes in the city's inhabitants, reflecting the changes which had occurred in all the peoples of the USSR, struck me still more than the "physical" turning of the old city into a large and modern center. At least two generations had been born and grown up since the revolution, had participated in building the new society, courageously defended it against fascist aggression, sacrificing everything, and strengthened the economic and social system of the Soviet republics. These "new" people had formed the strong basis of Soviet society, as could be seen particularly noticeably not on tourist trips round the city but during visits to industrial enterprises, educational institutions, polyclinics and sports centers.

I do not think it is worth enumerating in these pages all the numerous and widely known gains achieved in the 60 years of Soviet power, or all the problems and difficulties which have arisen both as a result of objective causes and sometimes because of errors committed, but which are basically inevitable in moving forward. Each success, each gain on this path, on the one hand, makes it possible to advance new aims, and, on the other, makes the obstacles still to be overcome more evident and concrete. This ceaseless process certainly is unending.

In this respect I wish to stress that a crystallization of the path traversed by the Soviet Union, in the state sense, is contained in the new USSR Constitution.

This document, which is extremely important for your country, is of extraordinary interest for the public opinion of the whole world, inasmuch as the constitution reflects in the most obvious way the evolution of Soviet society, inasmuch as it defines for the long term on the basis of many years of legal elaboration the relationship of the state and its institutions to citizens and of citizens to the state. The constitution stresses the lasting unity of Soviet society and sets the country new tasks.

The fact that the constitution confirms the USSR's aspiration toward peace is of fundamental significance. This principle, always strictly observed in Soviet policy, is now constitutionally enshrined as a factor defining the direction of the whole of the Soviet state's foreign policy activity.

And if the world--in spite of all dangers, threats and imperialist adventures (the most obvious example of these being the Vietnam war)--has so far been able to avoid new world catastrophes, this we owe to a large extent to consistent implementation by the USSR of a peace-loving foreign policy course.

Now, 60 years after the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet Union can with pride sum up the great and lasting accomplishments which the Russian people have achieved for themselves and for the progress of all mankind. Certainly, not everything has yet been completed, and Soviet people are the first to acknowledge this with their characteristic sense of seriousness and responsibility. What is important is that Soviet society is striving for improvement, is rich in potential opportunities and is revealing the most advanced prospects.

Historical experience has made us aware how difficult and complex the path to socialism is. But that, of course, cannot make us forget even for an instant--and precisely this arouses irritation and anger among the enemies of socialism--the historical importance and significance of the October Revolution, the subsequent gains achieved in the USSR, or the class and national liberation movement which these events evoked throughout the world.

Another series of problems is also connected with these last observations, namely, that the Great October Socialist Revolution was not simply a Russian phenomenon: it crossed geographical borders and went beyond the bounds of the concrete historical and sociopolitical environment in which it ripened and brought into action a mechanism, a dynamic of truly world scale.

In other words, the revolution not only evoked certain consequences in the social reality of Russia itself but also posed to all working people and to the communist parties of all countries formed under the influence of this event the question of elaborating that strategy and path of advancement toward socialism that are necessary, taking into account the different local and national conditions.

Whereas in the period after 1917 it was the task of all socialist forces to promote the defense of what had been born and started to develop in Russia, later--and especially after World War II, in which the Soviet Union made the decisive contribution to victory--it was inevitable in our broad movement that the question of its ramification and diversity must arise.

V. I. Lenin, by the way, foresaw this with his characteristic wisdom. "All nations will come in exactly the same way. Each will bring its originality

in one form or another of democracy, in one variety or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in one rate or another of socialist transformations of various aspects of social life. There is nothing more wretched in theory or more ridiculous in practice than 'for the sake of historical materialism' depicting the future in /this/ [italicized] respect in a monotonous, greyish color..." (V. I. Lenin, "Complete Collected Works," vol 30, p 123).

This precise formulation indicates, in my opinion, that it is not even the right but rather the duty of each communist party to work out its own characteristic course which takes into account the concrete peculiarities of the circumstances in which the particular party is operating and which is appropriate for its forward movement along the path of the socialist transformation of society.

If I may make a comparison, our albeit strong but initially small family has grown, has acquired great progeny, and new experience and has met with unfamiliar obstacles which, obviously, could not be overcome by mechanically copying the method by which obstacles of another kind and nature were overcome in the Soviet Union.

Soviet experience, very valuable in any instance, could always and must now serve as a guide, but it would be very difficult to take it for the sole possible "model."

From precisely this viewpoint we stress the necessity of each party's self-sufficiency [samostoyatel'nost] and the necessity of seeking new forms of unity in the international communist movement.

Such a new unity does not in the least mean mutual indifference or the absence of exchange of opinions, the absence of discussions, and indeed the absence of criticism when necessary. Quite the contrary: there are a multitude of issues demanding joint study, and frequently joint actions also. Another thing. Each party, being self-sufficient in the adoption of its own decisions, cannot fail to answer both for its own successes and its own errors. Socialism--and this has been repeated more than once--is not a commodity which can be exported or imported: it can only be the fruit of struggle, conscious participation and support on the part of the working people and democrats of each individual country.

On the other hand, self-sufficient quest and the elaboration of questions arising in the new circumstances created thanks to the October Revolution and the experience of the Soviet Union should, I would say, be examined methodologically as factors providing the opportunity of enriching and developing socialism both in the countries where it already exists and where it has not yet become a reality, but may assume various features.

The degree of the further penetration and dissemination of the ideals of socialism is directly dependent on the capacity of the forces bearing these

ideals within them to "implement" them in the diverse social, political and cultural reality of the world.

Whether it is already operating and concrete, or whether it is still only a hope, socialism must be constantly able to renew itself and to analyze subjective and objective factors by the method of Marxist-Leninist criticism.

What it was impossible even to imagine only 60 years ago has already become "history," concrete experience opening up new prospects for the future. What seems utopian today might, in--it does not matter how many--10, 20 or more years be transformed into just such a concrete reality and to testify to the diversity of the aspects of developing socialism.

Socialism today is a totality of ideas, actions and struggle which transcends the borders of the states forming the socialist system, and in those countries where the new system has not yet been established it not only embraces those forces which openly acknowledge themselves to be socialist but is also becoming the universal aspiration, the "mind" of the overwhelming majority of mankind which sees the inevitability of as well as the necessity of this process.

Even for this fundamental reason socialism cannot--and will not--paint itself in that "monotonous, greyish color" which Lenin considered impossible and in any case wretched.

In the last analysis this is in accordance with the most profound logic of the October Revolution, which was at once and the same time a general "thesis" suitable for the proletariat of the whole world and an example of the concrete application of a particular strategy in the specific circumstances of tsarist Russia. In other words, it proved that the proletariat is ready to gain power and to be transformed into the class leading the building of the new society, and at the same time showed that the Russian proletariat, in particular, under the leadership of the Communist Party, was able to and knew how to carry this potential capacity into life.

Hence the lasting significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution as a source of historical and political lessons, as a stimulus for the constant search--through the development of ideas and of the struggle--for new forms and various paths, in order to make the development of socialism in the world irreversible in practice.

CSO: 1802

WRITER'S WORD

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 77 pp 106-107

[Article by Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz, chairman of the main board of the Union of Polish Writers and laureate of the International Lenin Prize "For Strengthening the Peace Among Peoples"]

[Text] I am writing these lines on the eve of the great holiday--the 60th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. In these noteworthy days the Polish writers and readers are warmly welcoming a delegation of Soviet writers. Our fruitful encounters inspire me, from the viewpoint of the cooperation among fraternal literatures and the exchange of spiritual values they carry, to look at the October Revolution as the greatest turning point in the life not only of Russia but of Poland, of other European countries, of the entire world.

The October Revolution had a tremendous impact on the destinies of the Polish people. Thanks to it they were able to regain their independence. Even though at that time our writers reacted differently to the events in Russia, all of them were captivated by the scope and greatness of the occurrence. The overwhelming majority of Polish literary workers shared the admiration expressed by Stephan Zeromski for the wisdom and inexhaustible revolutionary energy of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin who initiated the great and unparalleled project of building a new world.

The friendship which ties us to our Soviet colleagues, the interest in their work, and respect for their creativity appeared long before relations between our countries began to favor direct contacts. Many Soviet writers were well-known by our readers even before World War II: Maksim Gor'kiy, Vladimir Mayakovskiy, Sergey Yesenin, Fedor Gladkov, Aleksandr Serafimovich, and Aleksandr Fadeyev. Let me particularly mention the fact that M. Sholokhov's "Tikhyy Don" [And Quiet Flows the Don] had even then had four Polish editions.

However, we had to undergo many trials, particularly during the war, and experience that culminating point in Polish history brought about by the liberation of our country in 1944-1945 to realize the role of the Great October Revolution as a historical landmark which determined the chronology

and inner logic of the main events of the 20th century, and which was adopted by the Polish intelligentsia.

Contemporary Polish literature has firmly inherited the traditions of writers such as Witold Wandurski, Bruno Jasinski, Wladyslaw Broniewski, and Edward Szymanski. Their works which promoted the ideas of the revolution under the then prevailing conditions in Poland, are models of firmness of conviction, morality, and strength. They lead us to think of the idea-mindedness of the artist and his social duty.

Naturally, the spiritual values of the past are continued and developed in today's Polish literature. It was precisely the October Revolution that created prerequisites for our nations to become a society of free people endowed with rights, to whom all realms of knowledge are equally accessible. Thanks to the new relations every member of society was given the opportunity to benefit from the achievements of culture and to be its active creator. The October Revolution provided a powerful impetus to the development of the process of rapprochement and cooperation among nations, exchange of thoughts, and reciprocal enrichment through practical experience.

We admire the splendid translations thanks to which the Polish people are becoming acquainted with Russian and Soviet classics and with the outstanding works of contemporary Soviet literature. We are profoundly pleased with the reciprocal lively interest displayed in Poland for the literature of our Soviet friends and the works of our writers in the Soviet Union where both writers and numerous publishing houses are engaged in their extensive dissemination.

We recall with particular warmth Polish literature days sponsored extensively in Belorussia and the Ukraine. I believe this to be one of the new and very promising forms of cooperation between our writers' unions. I personally and many of my colleagues are influenced by our frequent visits to Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Yaroslavl' and other Soviet cities. Each such meeting always leaves ineradicable memories. Each of them gives us something new, teaches us something, acquaints us with the creative searches of our Soviet colleagues. Our presence also leaves durable traces. Such contacts are priceless, for they create conditions for profound and fruitful reciprocal closeness and concern. It is precisely such meetings that we conceive as missions of peace, friendship, and true beauty and humanism in relations among people.

Our fraternal attitude toward the Soviet people, their culture, and our Soviet colleagues, I believe, entitles me, on behalf of all Polish writers and Polish cultural workers, to express the sincere wish for their creative successes, interests, and love for their work to increase with every passing year, continuing to conquer the hearts of millions of people.

I express this wish on the anniversary of the Great October Revolution which I consider to be our common as well as my own personal holiday.

PRESENT STAGE IN THE REALIZATION OF THE ADVANTAGES OF SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 77 pp 108-119

[Article by K. Mikul'skiy, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] Six decades have passed since the universal-historical process of the establishment and consolidation of the new social system. The victory of socialism and the practical utilization of its advantages opened a new era in the history of mankind, an era so different from all preceding socio-economic systems that its advent signifies, according to the familiar Marxist definition, the beginning of the true history of mankind, while all previous epochs were merely its pre-history. This profound historical-philosophical summation is based on the fact that only the elimination of the exploitation of man by man creates the necessary social conditions for the free development of the individual and for the establishment of truly humane social and interpersonal relations. That is precisely why the victory of the October Revolution, as was noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree on its 60th anniversary, radically changed the course of development of all mankind.

Six decades of struggle and work by the Soviet people were crowned by the creation of a developed socialist society in the USSR. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 4 October 1977 Supreme Soviet session, inherent in this society is "full scope for the operation of the laws of socialism and for the manifestation of its advantages in all realms of social life."

1

Speaking of the advantages of socialism in a most general way we should single out three main aspects: The nature of the objective of social development; the existence of a social mechanism serving the reaching of this objective; and factual progress toward it.

Socialist social relations determine the social possibility and need for achieving the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people and the creation of conditions for the free and all-round development of the individual. This characterizes the direction of social development and its objective purpose.

Socialism also creates and improves the social mechanism governing the progress of society toward this objective. It is based on the leading role of Marxist-Leninist parties which insures the practical implementation of the requirements of social progress through the knowledge of the laws governing social development and the involvement of all working people in the work of resolving the problems of the building of socialism and communism. Such a mechanism enables us to convert into daily reality the possibility created by public ownership of achieving a unity of basic interests within society and among classes, working collectives, and individual workers. It is used for surmounting arising contradictions among them concerning individual matters. It shapes the directional unity through which the activities of all social groups and all members of society influence the course of social development.

The historical mission of the socialist society is also implemented in accordance with the extent to which these two factors are realized accurately and fully: The material and social-organizational prerequisites for the growth of the people's prosperity are expanded and strengthened; an ever broader range of problems related to upgrading the material and cultural living standards of the people is resolved; a socialist way of life is developed and improved. It is precisely this aspect of the advantages of socialism that is "final" and general.

The advantages of the socialist production method and, above all, of socialist production relations, are the basis of all socialist advantages. This is precisely the topic of the present article.

The ever fuller utilization of the advantages of socialism in countries which have taken the path of building a new society is objectively legitimate and historically inevitable.

This conclusion stems from the rich and varied experience accumulated in the course of six decades. Today this experience includes not only the first steps to socialism and not only the creation of its foundations but the building of a developed socialist society. It covers the experience of countries which, at the time the people's system won, had reached a great variety of development levels: Countries which were even then industrialized; countries with an average level of economic development; and economically backward countries which had not as yet gone through the feudal stage. Finally, the 60 years of experience in building a new society is also an experience in building socialism in a single country under conditions of capitalist encirclement as well as a contemporary experience in resolving problems of building socialism and communism within the comity of socialist states.

The collective experience of the socialist comity clearly illustrates the characteristic features of the process of realizing the advantages of the new system. Such features include, above all, the fact that the advantages of socialism become reality not spontaneously but through the deliberate activities of the people's masses guided by the Marxist-Leninist parties. This is accomplished the more successfully and rapidly the greater the conscientiousness and social activeness of the working people is.

Another conclusion based on past experience is that the process of realization of the advantages of socialism is linked with surmounting contradictions and the circle against anything which hinders the strengthening and improvement of the socialist society and the building of communism. This is not simply a struggle against objective difficulties in the solution of natural contradictions such as, for example, contradictions between requirements and resources. It is also a conflict of opinions, a struggle between the new and the old in the views of the people, and a conflict between the interests of improving the socialist society, adopted as their own by the overwhelming majority of the population, and selfish and egotistical interests, whatever their representatives may be: loafers, speculators, bureaucrats, suppressors of criticism, and so on.

It is also important to emphasize that the realization of the advantages of socialism is not a one-time action but a lengthy historical process. Socialism is a young social system which, furthermore, sometimes frequently wins in countries with a relatively low or even very low level of economic development, and, as a rule, countries which have greatly suffered as a result of wars. Therefore, it cannot immediately reveal all its advantages to the fullest extent, and proclaim as its immediate objective the free all-round development of the individual.

The advantages of socialism turn into reality gradually. Characteristic of this process is the inevitable sequence in the manifestation of some phenomena and a certain unevenness in their realization in various areas of social life. Occasionally this could hinder the proper assessment of the achievements of socialism at a given stage of development, for only the comprehensive utilization of its advantages would make possible the full practical manifestation of the social nature of the new system and its historical superiority. However, one cannot fail to see that a number of advantages offered by socialism are manifested, to one or another extent, immediately after the victory of the socialist revolution. This is manifested in the rapid reorganization of social relations in a spirit of social justice, the accelerated development of the material and technical foundations of society, the noticable improvement of material living conditions for the majority of the population, a cultural upsurge, and so on.

Assessing the achievements of socialism, it is also important to see the tremendous potential for its development and improvement. The dialectics of the socialist society is such that as each new and higher stage is reached the views of the people concerning the advantages of socialism are enriched and "enhanced," and, therefore, also its criteria in assessing what has been achieved and the scale of the problems to be resolved. Naturally, this does not mean that achieved successes are denied but reflects the appearance of new possibilities and requirements for further social progress. "...The very concept of the general laws governing the building of socialism and communism," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the meeting of heads of academies of sciences of socialist countries, "becomes deeper and more comprehensive with the acquisition of experience." This also means the

intensification and enrichment and, something equally important, the concretizing of the scientific views on the advantages of socialism and the means for their realization with the ever more profound knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist science of society, the content and ways of social progress under socialism, the changes in the objective conditions governing this progress at each of its stages, and the mastering of methods for managing social development consistent with such conditions.

Today two new factors play a particular role in realizing the advantages of the socialist production method. They are, first, the organic combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of the social organization of production under socialism; second, the organic combination of the technical and economic opportunities for the development of output established through international economic integration with the social advantages of international economic relations of a socialist type. Socialism makes ever more extensive use of such new opportunities for production development offered by the progress of science and technology and the increased interaction among the national economies of the socialist states.

As a world comity of nations socialism has reached a high level of consolidation whose directions and forms are becoming ever richer. This is confirmed by the development of socialist economic integration, intensified political interaction, ideological cooperation, and cooperation in strengthening the defense capability of socialist countries. This is most characteristic of CEMA-member countries and the Warsaw Pact Organization. The ever closer interaction among their national economies, foreign policy coordination, and joint efforts to resolve ideological problems multiply the motive forces of their development and contributes to the more efficient utilization of the resources of these countries and to the strengthening of their unity. Equally important is the increasing trend toward more active cooperation between them and socialist countries which are not members of said organizations.

Characteristic of the process of realization of the advantages of socialism on an international scale is the rapprochement among the individual members of the socialist comity in the course of the realization of these advantages. This is, above all, a result of the successes achieved in the gradual rapprochement and equalization of the levels of economic and social development of the fraternal countries. At the same time, it is also a result of the fact that the laws governing their development as members of the world socialist comity enables them to combine, to one or another extent, the solution of problems pertaining to different stages of social development and thus accelerate their progress. The rapprochement among the members of the socialist comity based on the extent of realization of the advantages of socialism is proof of the international nature of this system and of the universal significance of its principles.

2

A historical approach is needed for the scientific study of the advantages of the socialist economy, enabling us to assess its achievements in their

dynamics in accordance with the possibilities offered by each historical stage and in the light of the potential it creates for future progress. In order to assess the scale of realization of the advantages of socialism in the upsurge of production forces, and in upgrading the material and cultural living standard of the population at one or another stage of development of the socialist countries we must: a. Compare the level reached with the pre-revolutionary condition of the country; b. Compare it with the contemporary level reached by the capitalist countries (both countries which, at the time of the victory of the revolution in the given country had reached an approximately similar level, as well as countries which at the time under consideration had reached the highest standard in the capitalist world); c. Assess the nature and scale of the socioeconomic problems which could be posed and resolved in the stage under consideration and compare them with the long term objectives of the building of communism.

Six decades of existence of factual socialism convincingly proved that in the life of a single generation it could surmount the age-old backwardness inherited from the old system and resolve a number of problems vitally important to the toiling masses, problems which remain unresolved under capitalism. Furthermore, socialism proved its ability to reorganize within a historically short time countries which had not even entered the epoch of capitalist development.

Following are data on the economic growth of a number of socialist countries in 1976 compared with 1950 (in percentage):

	Industrial Output	Agricultural Output	National Income
Bulgaria	19 times	299	926
Hungary	742	177	418
GDR	775	200	541
Poland	13 times	189	635
Romania	23 times	339	11 times
USSR	10 times	240	732
Czechoslovakia	734	157	436

In the pace of growth of output the socialist countries are outstripping the capitalist countries. Thus, in 1976 their volume of industrial output was approximately 20 times higher than what was produced on the same territory in 1937. Within that period the industrial output of the capitalist countries rose 5.5 times. From 1951 to 1976 industrial output rose 11.5 times in the socialist countries, and 3.4 times in the economically developed capitalist countries. Whereas a stable growth is characteristic of the socialist economy, as in the past, the capitalist economy is subjected to cyclical development. The crisis in the mid-1970's hurled back the capitalist world six years in terms of steel production and five years in automobile manufacturing.

The share of the socialist countries in the world's output has risen at a faster pace. Thus, pre-revolutionary Russia (in 1913) accounted for slightly

over 4 percent of the world's industrial output. Today the USSR accounts for 20 percent of the world's industrial output. Whereas in 1950 the share of the socialist countries in the world's industrial output equalled approximately 20 percent, in 1976 it exceeded 40 percent. The CEMA-member countries accounted for approximately one-third of the world's industrial output. The volume of industrial output of the CEMA-member countries is approximately twice that of the European Economic Community, and approximately one-third higher than US industrial output.

Despite major differences in individual country indicators, the contemporary level and dynamics of economic effectiveness of social output in CEMA-member countries reflect, as a whole, the conditions and possibilities of a relatively highly developed economy, the progressive trends in the world's economic development, and the gradually realized advantages of the socialist economic system. Thus, the average level of labor productivity in the industry of CEMA-member countries is approximately 30 percent higher than in the European Economic Community, even though it is still below the US level, accounting for somewhat over 50 percent of this level. The ratio in the levels of social labor productivity is less favorable to the CEMA-member countries as the result of the considerable lagging of such countries in agricultural labor productivity and the high percentage of the overall number of workers in this sector. The average social labor productivity of CEMA-member countries is approximately 75 percent of that same level in the members of the European Economic Community and about one-third of the US level. Yet, the level of social labor productivity in CEMA-member countries is 30 percent higher than that of Japan.

Considering the ratio of levels of production effectiveness in socialist and capitalist countries, we should take into consideration not only technical and economic factors but social conditions as well. They include, above all, essential differences in economic targets expressed in the non-comparability between the criterion of capitalist profitability and the criterion of the ever fuller satisfaction of needs under socialism. In the course of a number of stages of the building of socialism this disparity may limit in some respects the possibility to insure high returns from labor and capital in the socialist countries compared with capitalist production, for socialism has no exploiting methods for upgrading production profitability as used by capitalism, while the new suitable ways and means for improving the economy are either only being established or their development is still behind changing economic management conditions.

It is natural for the socialist society that it excludes means for expanding output and upgrading its effectiveness considered incompatible with the social tasks and objectives which fail to meet the requirements of social justice and the social confidence and prosperity of the members of society. This is a permanent factor of social development under socialism and one of the manifestations of its humanistic nature. This factor cannot fail to place within specific frameworks the growth of production profitability (for example, socialism rejects excessive intensification of labor which undermines the health of the worker). However, it is important to the people, for it

develops within the society a particular social atmosphere characterized by the attitude toward the worker who is considered not only as the main productive force but as an individual whose prosperity, in the broad meaning of the term, is the supreme criterion. This socialist principle must be always taken into consideration in comparing the various indicators of economic effectiveness of output under socialism and capitalism.

Yet, naturally, this does not mean that the struggle for high effectiveness is underestimated. It requires the harmonious development of the principle of humanism and that of economic efficiency. Naturally, socialism cannot free the worker from some occasionally burdensome circumstances such as, for example, the need for retraining should the type of output change, a reduction in the number of workers at one or another enterprise, and so on. However, in this case everything possible is done to facilitate the worker's participation in such changes and even to interest him in them, guaranteeing jobs and the retention or even increase of salary, improving labor conditions, and so on. The strict choice of socially acceptable ways of struggle for effectiveness and the basic rejection of unemployment as a means for exerting pressure on the worker complicate the solution of certain problems under socialism, on the one hand, while, on the other, prove its superiority over capitalism.

Socialism has not as yet fully developed the powerful factors for upgrading economic effectiveness formed by the new production relations (creative initiative of the working people, high effectiveness of the economic mechanism, and so on). The effect of such factors intensifies with the improvement of production relations and the strengthening of the material base for their development and with the molding of the new man.

This is manifested in quantitative indicators. Thus, in 1976 labor productivity in industry exceeded the 1950 level as follows: USSR, 4.7 times; Bulgaria, 5.4; Hungary, 3.4; GDR, 5.3; Mongolia, 3.1; Poland, 5.3; Romania, 7.2; Czechoslovakia, 4.3; United States, 2.4; Great Britain, 1.9; FRG, 3.3; and France, 3.2 times.

The advantages of the socialist economy become expressed ever more tangibly in the upgraded prosperity of the people. As a rule, not only the rates of growth of output but of consumption are considerably higher in the socialist compared with the capitalist countries.

Compared with 1950, in 1975 the joint consumption fund of CEMA-member countries was approximately 4.9 times higher. In the last five years alone it rose approximately 30 percent. Compared with 1950, the 1975 per capita consumption fund was approximately 5 times higher in Bulgaria, 3.1 times in Hungary, 4.9 times in the GDR, 3.8 times in Poland, 4.8 times in Romania, 3.7 times in the USSR, and 2.9 times in Czechoslovakia. Individual per capita consumption in 1975 exceeded the 1950 level as follows: United States, 62 percent; Great Britain, 64 percent; France, 2.6 times; Italy, 2.8 times; and FRG, 3 times. In the capitalist countries there were periodical declines in the living standard of the broad population masses. For example, in 1975,

as a result of the economic crisis in the United States the average real wage dropped to the 1964 level while in 1974 per capita consumption was on the 1967 level.

It is important to emphasize that under socialism there is no sharp property stratification of the population as under capitalism. Compared with capitalism disparities in the consumption levels of individual social strata are relatively minor while their criterion is distribution according to labor. The task of totally surmounting the lack of prosperity of individual groups of citizens is being implemented at a faster pace. All social strata are experiencing the results of the upsurge of production forces.

As international comparisons of the caloric value of nutrition show the populations of CEMA-member countries are not behind economically developed countries such as the FRG, Britain, and Italy, even though in a number of cases the share of animal proteins is still somewhat lower. No substantial disparities exist between these groups of countries in terms of supplying the population with clothing, shoes, and some other durable goods. The socialist countries are successfully surmounting their lag in availability of some goods for durable use. Thus, in 1980 there will be 84 televisions, 85 refrigerators, and 83 radio receivers per 100 USSR families. This will bring closer the completion of the process of totally fulfilling the "initial" population requirements for such commodities and the already developing process of their mass renovation will expand even further.

The firm and steadily expanding social guarantees for human existence and development are of particular importance to the population of the socialist countries: Stable employment, guaranteed wages in accordance with quantity and quality of labor, free and highly developed health care and education systems, and a progressive social insurance system. Such achievements show a particular contrast with the situation of the broad toiling strata in the capitalist countries. That is why the new USSR Constitution triggered such a big international response. It confirms the broadened socioeconomic rights of the Soviet citizens, the intensified content of such rights, and the strengthening of their material guarantees.

The upsurge of social production in CEMA-member countries in the next 20 years and the purposeful utilization of the growth of social resources in the light of the criteria of the socialist social policy will enable them within that time to insure for all members of society rational (in accordance with modern science) consumption norms for the basic types of foodstuffs and industrial goods. This will mean the full satisfaction of prime material population requirements under the conditions of a still predominating distribution according to labor, as well as a drastic rapprochement among all social groups in terms of the level of prosperity. Within that period the primary task of the housing problem will be resolved gradually: Each family will have a comfortable premise. Labor conditions will improve radically. The development of the material and technical base of output will be oriented to an ever greater extent toward making the work easier, increasing its attractiveness, and intensifying its creative nature. The spiritual needs of the people will

increase considerably and the level of their satisfaction will be raised. The socialist way of life will manifest its basic advantages even more completely.

3

The materials of the 25th CPSU Congress and of the congresses of communist and workers' parties of other CEMA-member countries held in recent years reflected the increased attention paid at the present stage to theoretical and practical work aimed at the fuller realization of the advantages of the socialist production method.

The increased effectiveness of the social production process and its intensification have now become the key direction in economic activities, of decisive significance to the further development of the advantages of socialism. The communist parties proceed from the fact that the advancement of social relations plays a leading role in the process of economic upsurge.

In this connection the further enhancement of the level of production socialization plays a particular role. It stems from the quantitative and qualitative levels reached in the development of output and the current tasks related to its improvement. A number of measures implemented by CEMA-member countries is aimed at the solution of this problem.

In this respect measures aimed at upgrading production concentration on the basis of the consolidation of the basic economic unit and increased comprehensiveness in the solution of technical and economic problems play an important role. This calls for the use of new organizational forms such as production and scientific-production associations, inter-farm cooperation in agriculture and agroindustrial integration, territorial industrial complexes, and others. Naturally, in itself the upgraded level of production concentration through the creation of associations does not mean that a higher level of labor socialization has been reached. The consolidation of economic organizations and the conversion of bigger units to cost accounting, as well as the establishment of various funds on the basis of the consolidated units could yield tangible national economic results only if all such measures serve the economically substantiated specialization and cooperation of the enterprises within the association, as well as the rationalization of relations among associations within the same sector and between them and other sectors.

The possibilities for effective production specialization and cooperation are broadening thanks to the socialist economic integration of CEMA-member countries. The planned intensification and improvement of the international socialist division of labor mean the creation of ever more favorable economic production conditions within each of these countries.

The utilization of more effective ways and means for intensifying the coordinated activities of all economic units, vertically as well as horizontally, is another means for upgrading the level of production

socialization. Vertical interaction means not only the observance of a formal system of hierarchy but, above all, a factual single focusing of efforts of all such units toward the satisfaction of national economic requirements. Intensified horizontal interaction among economic units is another essential aspect in the development of the process of factual production socialization. The contractual system now being strengthened in the socialist countries is an exceptionally important lever for surmounting specific departmental, local, and other similar interests, and for insuring a higher level of planned development. The contractual system enables us to upgrade the role of enterprises in insuring the planned development of the economy and relieve the central planning organs from dealing with individual planning details.

However, these measures are merely individual sectors in the comprehensive work, covering all national economic interrelationships, aimed at improving socialist economic management on the basis of the fuller realization of the requirements of production socialization. This work is directed toward the type of reorganization of planning and administration which would enable us to insure a more suitable reflection of the factual needs of society in plans and in current economic activities.

Planning practice is being improved. It is based to an ever greater extent on the study of social needs, the consideration of the social aspects of economic growth, the possibilities of the scientific and technical revolution, and the prediction of the various consequences of economic decisions (including environmental protection). The elaboration of planning and accountability indicators enabling us, to begin with, to reflect most fully national economic requirements (particularly effectiveness and quality criteria) and, secondly, to insure the linking of such indicators at enterprises with the worker incentive system, plays a particular role among such interrelated measures.

Measures enabling us to direct all national economic units toward improving end results of their activities are closely linked with insuring the more precise consideration of the factual requirements of society. In this respect valuable experience is being gained by CEMA-member countries in using the indicator of net or conventional net output rather than gross or commodity output in assessing activities of enterprises and in providing material incentives to collectives. This is also the purpose of the enriched arsenal of management levers and the combination of direct directival assignments with a system of economic incentives for the fulfillment of the plan and the utilization of production reserves not included in the plan based, above all, on long-term cost accounting norms.

The basic content of the contemporary stage in improving the methods of socialist economic management, which is also a major prerequisite for the development of all the advantages of socialism is the intensified coordination among the interests of society, social groups, enterprise collectives, and individual workers. The high level of coordination of interests at all levels of economic life and its further enhancement are the concentrated manifestation of the superiority of the social organization of output under socialism.

The contemporary stage of development of the CEMA-member countries raises new requirements concerning the criteria and methods for insuring the coordination of interests. The system of criteria and methods of economic management, developed in the period of industrialization, was essentially successful in enabling us to achieve the specific priority objectives of national economic development and the consequent national economic interests, and had adequate incentives for its time leading to the achievement of such objectives by enterprises and workers. Subsequently, and even after efforts to improve the economic mechanism were launched in the socialist countries, the process of changes of such objectives and of broadening such interests was no longer fully consistent with the restructuring of economic management criteria and methods. The orientation of ministries, departments, enterprises, and workers toward the new national economic needs, the main among which were the tasks of upgrading production effectiveness and meeting better the needs of consumers, proved to be insufficient. The extended search for new plan indicators, cost accounting methods, wage and bonus systems, and so on, which were to replace economic management methods which were essentially efficient in the past yet unjustified under contemporary conditions, and the continuing utilization, to one or another extent, of such obsolete methods led to the fact that the criteria used in assessing the activities of enterprises and workers turned out partially unrelated to the new objectives of the socio-economic policy of society. Trends toward distinguishing between the interests of departments and enterprises and the social interests frequently intensified. Presently the need exists to insure their fuller implementation in economic life. This is the leading aspect of the intensified production socialization.

However, this does not mean that public interests are pitted against the interests of the individual. The social conditions of the socialist society objectively create a firm base for combining the interests of all units of economic life. The implementation of such possibilities is the most important function of the mechanism of socialist economic management. The specific interests of sectorial organs, associations, enterprises, and workers are dictated by economic management conditions shaped by the central management organs and their middle-level units. The insufficient efforts of enterprises and workers in upgrading production effectiveness and satisfying other social needs are due, above all, to the imperfection of the regulations governing economic management, wage system, and so on, or else their practical abandonment. Therefore, the combination of the interests of society, the enterprise, and the worker is achieved through the purposeful development through the efforts of central and other managing organs of the type of economic conditions in which the interests they trigger in enterprises and workers would inevitably lead to actions serving the social interests.

Improved centralized planning and management and their orientation toward the end results of economic activities, and the application of criteria for assessing enterprise activities reflecting more completely factual national economic interests create the necessary conditions for upgrading the effectiveness of the system of material and moral incentive of the workers and their collectives. In terms of the realization of the advantages of socialism it is important that at the present stage the stimulating function

of the socialist distribution system is being strengthened; methods for distribution are being developed eliminating the elements of equalization and enabling us to combine to a greater extent guaranteed specific earnings for each worker category, inherent in socialism, with material incentive for upgrading the quantity and the quality of labor with material responsibility for improper fulfillment of obligations, and the broadening of possibilities for increased earnings on the basis of a respective increase of the labor contribution. Today the CEMA-member countries are extensively working on the application of progressive forms of labor organization and wages. For example, the Shchekino method and brigade subcontracting, developed in the USSR, are being disseminated in other CEMA-member countries as well.

Both the current and future requirements of the social development of the socialist countries indicate the tremendous importance of the work to upgrade the effectiveness of ideological, moral, and creative labor stimuli. Yet, it is obvious that we must not pit them against material incentives but shape and regulate the entire incentive system in such a way that its effectiveness as a whole would be growing steadily. This incentive system will enable us to increase even further the socio-productive activeness of the working people.

The activity of the communist and workers' parties of the members of the socialist comity, aimed at the further development of the advantages of socialism, also include the search for new ways and means for realizing the social status of the worker in the socialist production system as its co-owner. "The successes of our social development," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the June 1976 Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe, "are possible only as a result of the free and conscientious creativity of the masses, their ever more active exercise of civil rights, and their ever more active participation in the shaping of all aspects of social life."

The solution of the topical problems of broadening the participation of workers in management cover both the macro-level and the micro-level of social life. The working people exercise their function as owners of the production process above all by actively participating in the political life of the country. The further expansion and intensification of socialist democracy will intensify the daily influence of the masses on the functioning of legislative and executive organs. Furthermore, socialism is developing direct democracy in the production process. Its implementation helps the activities of party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, and consultative and elective organs (production conferences, and others). The forms of such democracy are being enriched as well. Their improvement is actively discussed by the public of the socialist countries (measures for the certification of production managers with the participation of representatives of the enterprise's collective, possibility for the competitive filling of leading positions, and others). The course toward the further development of democratic principles has been expressed, in particular, in the stipulations of the new USSR Constitution on the role of labor collectives in discussing and resolving governmental and public matters, problems of enterprise and establishment management, and so on.

One of the most topical tasks in the fuller utilization of the advantages of the socialist economy is that of intensifying the inter-connection between the planned development of production forces and the planned improvement of production relations. The principal method for insuring the steady upsurge of the socialist economy and, in particular, for the successful development of the scientific and technical revolution is the systematic improvement of socialist production relations. This improvement process must become the most important planning target. Without it we cannot achieve a high scientific substantiation and effectiveness in planning quantitative and qualitative production indicators. However, we frequently still feel a gap between the level reached in the planned development of output and the insufficient scope of the planning process in improving the various elements of production relations. It is precisely because of this that the current forecasts and long-term plans formulated in the socialist countries do not fully reflect the possibilities for the utilization of reserves for the growth of output found in the improvement of various elements of production relations on the basis, for example, of applying new forms of participation of the working people in economic management, new incentive methods, and others.

Currently greater attention is being paid to the planned nature of development of production relations. For example, more planning is being used in the application of progressive forms of production concentration and specialization which play an important role in the improvement of socialist production relations. Planning work is being done to improve the forms of implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor (application of new rate systems, and others). The dissemination of brigade cost accounting, introduced since 1975 by the USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction, is worthy of support. This would bring into action new motive forces for an economic upsurge.

One of the most important directions in realizing the advantages of socialism also includes the intensification of socialist economic integration. This is insured above all through the development of joint planning activities by CEMA-member countries. The coordination of five-year national economic plans is being improved. The national plans organically include integration measures. The range of sectors and types of output in which the CEMA-member countries are converting to joint planning is broadening. Joint activities are increasing in economic and scientific and technical forecasting, and so on. The coordinated plan for multilateral integration measures among CEMA-member countries for 1976 and 1980 and the current elaboration of long-term target programs for cooperation in the most important material production sectors play a leading role in strengthening the planning foundations of cooperation. Upgrading the effectiveness of international economic accounts stimulating improvements in reciprocal economic relations among CEMA-member countries is of major importance. The growing number of international economic organizations and economic associations, and joint enterprises setup by CEMA-member countries noticeably enrich the development of organizational methods for managing the industry of CEMA-member countries.

The process of realization of the advantages of socialism, initiated by the October Revolution, has assumed an international nature. It has become a leading factor of worldwide developments. Despite the fact that this process requires the surmounting of many difficulties and contradictions, we could note that the main content, the essence of the entire historical distance covered in the strengthening and improvement of world socialism represents the ever fuller embodiment of its advantages.

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DEDICATED TO THE GREAT OCTOBER

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 16, Nov 77 pp 120-126

[Review of books by I. Chkhikvishvili, first deputy chairman, USSR Goskomizdat]

[Text] Inspired by the historical decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the admption of the new USSR Constitution, the Soviet people are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Great October Revolution with new labor accomplishments. This fully applies to the Soviet publishers whose main task is to print and distribute works on the greatanniversary. In the light of the CPSU Central Committee Decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution" the USSR Goskomizdat[State Committee on Publishing] formulated a consolidated topics plan for the most important publications. The most important among them are the works of V. I. Lenin, CPSU Central Committee documents, the works of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, books on the history of the October Revolution, and works on the revolutionary, combat, and labor exploits of the Soviet people in the past 60 victorious years.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened a new era in the history of mankind. It sharply outlined the watershed between the exploiting society and a society based on the principles of freedom, equality, and fraternity. Carried out under Lenin's direct leadership and the leadership of the party he created, the revolutionestablished Leninism as the most dynamic ideological and political force of our time and as a social practice on a universal-historical scale.

The content and significance of the October evens which changed the course of universal history have been revealed in hundreds of Leninist books and pamphlets, reports, speeches, and letters. The most important works and letters written by Lenin on these events may be found in the collection "Lenin ob Oktyabre" [Lenin on October] (Politizdat). The statements by the leader on the revolution included in the collection take us back to the days of preparations for the October battles to the moment of the victorious upraising and the initial years of the Soviet system.

Works added to book Leniniana have included the Leninist thematic collections "V. I. Lenin. O Velikoy Oktyabr'skoy Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii" [V. I. Lenin. On the Great October Socialist Revolution] (Liyesma); "V. I. Lenin. O Sotsialisticheskoy Revolyutsii" [V. I. Lenin. On the Socialist Revolution] (Politizdat); "V. I. Lenin. K Godovshchinam Oktyabr'skoy Revolyutsii" [V. I. Lenin. On October Revolution Anniversaries] (Politizdat, Politizdat Ukrainy, Turkmenistan, Magadanskoye Knizhnoye Izdatel'stvo); Collection: "Lenin. Partiya. Oktyabr'. Dokumenty i Materialy" [Lenin. The Party. October. Documents and Materials] (Politizdat); facsimile edition: V. I. Lenin. Ocherednyye Zadachi Sovetskoy Vlasti" [V. I. Lenin. Forthcoming Tasks of the Soviet Power] (Pravda); facsimile edition: "Vsyaya Vlast' Sovetam" [All Power to the Soviets] (Sovremennik); illustrated edition: "V. I. Lenin. Aprel'skiye Tezisy. O Zadachakh Proletariyata v Dannoy Revolyutsii" [V. I. Lenin. On the Tasks of the Proletariat in this Revolution] (Kyrgyzstan); facsimile and memorial edition of the book "Gosudarstvo i Revolyutsiya" [State and Revolution] (Mysl' and Politizdat); miniature eight-volume edition of "Permskaya Leniniana" [Perm Leniniana] (Permskoye Knizhnoye Izdatel'stvo). Each volume in this work is a collection of Leninist documents and letters to Vladimir Il'ich and graphic Leniniana from the collection of the Perm Art Gallery; album: "Lenin. Revolyutsiya. Iskusstvo" [Lenin. Revolution. Art] (Khudozhnik RSFSR); album: "Lenin. Oktyabr'" [Lenin. October] (Plakat). Awarded the Grand Prix at the Leipzig International Exhibition; album: "Iskusstvo Narodov SSSR" [Art of the Peoples of the USSR] (Avrora); and the photographic album "Torzhestvo Idey Oktyabrya" [Triumph of the Ideas of October] (Planeta).

A first edition has come out of the encyclopedia "Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya Sotsialisticheskaya Revolyutsiya" [The Great October Socialist Revolution]. It is a comprehensive presentation of the period of the creation of the first socialist state in the world; it shows the exploit of the people who stormed the old world, and depicts the leading role of the Leninist party in the greatest of all revolutions.

A collection of reports and speeches by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev "O Konstitutsii SSSR" [On the Constitution of the USSR] was published this anniversary year (Politizdat). The collections "Leninskim Kursom" [The Leninist Course] (Vol 5), "O Kommunisticheskom Vospitanii Trudyashchikhsya" [On the Communist Education of the Working People], "Voprosy Upravleniya Ekonomikoy Razvitogo Sotsialisticheskogo Obshchestva" [Economic Management of the Developed Socialist Society], and others were published in separate editions. The following addresses by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev were published: "Vydayushchiysya Podvig Zashchitnikov Tuly" [The Outstanding Exploit of the Defenders of Tula], "Sovetskiye Profsoyuzy -- Vliyatel'naya Sila Nashego Obshchestva" [The Soviet Trade Unions -- Influential Force in Our Society], "Rech' na Plenum Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS 25 Oktyabrya 1976 Goda" [Speech at the 25 October 1976 CPSU Central Committee Plenum], and "O Proyekte Konstitutsii (Osnovnogo Zakona) Soyuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik i Itogakh Yego Vsenarodnogo Obsuzhdeniya" [On the Draft of the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Results of its Nationwide Discussion]. A commemorative edition has been published of

of the report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to the 25th congress, "Otchet Tsentral'nogo Komiteta KPSS i Ocherednyye Zadachi Partii v Oblasti Vnutrenney i Vneshney Politiki" [CPSU Central Committee Report on the Forthcoming Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy] (Politizdat Ukrainy), Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speech at the Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe "Vo Imya Mira i Sotsial'nogo Progressa" [In the Name of Peace and Social Progress] (Belarus'), and a collection of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's speeches and reports "Voprosy Agrarnoy Politiki KPSS i Osvoeniye Tselinnykh Zemel' Kazakhstana" [Problems of CPSU Agrarian Policy and the Development of Kazakhstan Virgin Lands] (Kazakhstan).

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report submitted at the joint ceremonious meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet, and RSFSR Supreme Soviet, held on 2 November 1977, "Velikiy Oktyabr' i Progress Chelovechestva" [The Great October and the Progress of Mankind] was published in a mass edition.

Politizdat published the books "Izbrannyye Rechi i stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles] by A. P. Kirilenko, "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stat'i" [Selected Speeches and Articles] by A. N. Kozygin, "Na Putyakh Stroitel'stva Kommunizma. Rechi i Stat'i" [On the Paths of Building Communism. Speeches and Articles] by M. A. Suslov (in two volumes), "XXV S'yezd KPSS o Sovershenstvovanii Sotsialisticheskogo Obraza Zhizni i Formirovanii Novogo Cheloveka" [The 25th CPSU Congress on Improving the Socialist Way of Life and Molding the New Man], and "Izbrannoye. Rechi i Stat'i" [Selections. Speeches and Articles] by B. N. Ponomarev.

The greatness of the October Revolution and Lenin's gigantic role are becoming ever more tangible with every passing anniversary. Particularly important to the generations which grew up after the October Revolution are the memoirs of Il'ich's fellow-workers and contemporaries, and of those who had the luck to see and hear the leader. Numerous memoirs carry their testimony. They have been particularly numerous this anniversary year. Their authors include professional revolutionaries, workers, peasants, scientists, writers, and military servicemen. Their stories about Lenin and on the way he lived, fought, and worked, and on the living features of his unique aspect and nature are our valuable possession. The recollections of nearly 400 authors may be found in the two-volume work "Lenin. Oktyabr' Semnadsatogo" [Lenin. October 1917] (Politizdat). Each one of them has his own style, way of narration, and attitude toward the described events. Yet, the book represents an integral and complete narration which enables the reader to gain a vivid idea of those days when the peals of the October thunder were being heard in Petrograd and all Russia.

The recollections and statements of outstanding world men of culture have been put together in the collection "Druz'ya Oktyabrya i Mira" [Friends of October and Peace] (Khudozhestvennaya Literatura). John Reed, Henri Barbusse, Theodore Dreiser, Martin Andersen-Nexø, Julius Fick, George

Amadou, Johannes Becher, Nazym Hikmet and other representatives of the world's progressive literature express their greatest admiration of Lenin, the October Revolution, and the exploits of the Soviet people. The assembled articles, letters, poems, and stories are features of the collective portrait of the great revolution created by its foreign admirers and supporters.

The truthful testimony of foreign participants and witnesses of the October Revolution recreate a vivid picture of the unforgettable events in the collection "Revolutsiya, Izmenivshaya Mir. Slovo Progressivnykh Lyudey Mira o Velikoy Oktyabr'skoy Sotsialisticheskoy Revolutsii" [The Word of the Progressive People of the World on the Great October Socialist Revolution] (Politizdat). Excerpts of articles and speeches, documents, and other materials and touching recollections provide a clear idea of the influence of the October Revolution on the upsurge and development of the international workers, communist and national-liberation movements.

The book by A. G. Golikov "V Kanun Oktyabrya. Narastaniye Obshchenatsional'nogo Krizisa" [On the Eve of the October Revolution. Growth of the Nationwide Crisis] (Mysl') deals with one of the main problems of the historiography of the Great October Revolution -- the objective prerequisites for its victory. The author traces the process of intensification of contradictions within the bourgeois-landowners' system and the inevitability of their resolution through a socialist revolution.

A group of members of the Lithuanian SSR Central State Archives prepared the book "Litovtsy -- Uchastniki Oktyabr'skoy Revolutsii i Grazhdanskoy Voyny" [Lithuanian Participants in the October Revolution and the Civil War] (Mintis). After a thorough study of documents found in many archives in the country and other data the authors based the collection on the biographies of heroes of the revolution and civil war previously unknown to the mass readership. The introductory article properly sums up the collected data and many photographs are published for the first time.

Documents, photographs, and other materials of party, state and other archives on the noted bolshevik-Leninist Nariman Narimanov were used in the album-book "Nariman Narimanov" (Ishyg).

The memoirs of I. V. Krylov "Zapiski Krasnogvardeytza" [Notes of a Red Guard] were published by Izdatel'stvo Moskovskiy Rabochiy. The author, one of the many (Presnenskiye) workers, describes what happened to him and his comrades. The events he narrates are illuminated by the great flame of the nationwide struggle for Soviet power. This gives the book the features of an epic.

The entire heroic fate of the Soviet people and their revolutionary, combat, and labor victories are inseparably linked with the activities of the Communist Party. While remaining a party of the working class, under the conditions of developed socialism the CPSU became a party of the whole people. The Soviet people fully support and actively implement its policy.

The Great October Revolution laid the beginning of the outstanding historical path covered by the Soviet people under the party's guidance. "The present accomplishments of the Soviet people are the direct continuation of the cause of the October Revolution," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, addressing the 25th congress. "They are the practical implementation of the great Lenin's ideas. Our party is, and will always be loyal to this cause and ideas!"

The party's immortal exploit in guiding the heroic struggle for the victory of the Soviet system has been properly reflected in a number of anniversary works such as "Partiya i Sovety v Oktyabr'skoy Revolyutsii" [The Party and the Soviets in the October Revolution] by B. M. Morozov (Mysl'); "Revolutsionnyy Petrograd. God 1917" [Revolutionary Petrograd, 1917] (Nauka); "Leninskaya Partiya -- Vdokhnovitel' i Organizator Pobedy Velikogo Oktyabrya" [The Leninist Party -- Inspirer and Organizer of the Victory of the Great October] by I. F. Petrov (Mysl'); "Bol'sheviki i Krest'yanstvo v Oktyabr'skoy Revolyutsii" [The Bolsheviks and the Peasantry in the October Revolution] by A. S. Smirnov (Politizdat); "Velikaya Oktyabr'skaya" [The Great October Revolution] by Yu. A. Polyakov (Nauka), and others. The book "1917. Velikiy Oktyabr': Kratkaya Istoriya, Dokumenty, Fotografii" [1917. The Great October: Short History, Documents, Photographs] (Politizdat) recreates the intensive rhythm of these heroic days.

An important topical subject is treated in the collective work "Dal'neysheye Vozrastaniye Rukovodyashchey Roli Partii v Kommunisticheskom Stroitel'stve" [Further Increase in the Leading Role of the Party in the Building of Communism] (Politizdat Ukrainy). The book is a popular science aid which systematizes and sums up considerable factual data on the leading and guiding role of the CPSU in all realms of the economic, social, and spiritual life of Soviet society. It offers a study of the development of concepts on the legitimate growth of the role of the Communist Party in the building of communism in the decisions of the 24th and 25th congresses and other party documents.

Mass editions are being steadily published along with profound scientific works on the party's role in the October Revolution. One of them is the three-volume "Rasskazy o Partii" [Stories about the Party] (Politizdat). This is a sui generis reader containing artistic and documentary works by known Soviet poets, prose writers and publicists. It is as though the very history of the party, filled with the heroism of class battles, victory triumphs, and courage in surmounting misfortunes and privations stands before us. G. Markov, K. Simonov, S. Sartakov, S. Dangulov, V. Kozhevnikov, and many others take the reader into the world of the interests, projects, and accomplishments of the party and its loyal sons and daughters.

The transition from capitalism to communism initiated by the October Revolution expresses the objective trend of social developments. Its motive force is the working class which strives to eliminate the exploitation of man by man and liberate labor. The experience of the October Revolution

convincingly proved the role of the proletariat as the leading force of the contemporary historical process. The organization and unity and uparallelled revolutionary energy of the working class described in L. S. Gaponenko's monograph "Reshayushchaya Sila Velikogo Oktyabrya" [The Decisive Force of the Great October] (Politizdat) and a number of other works confirm the veracity of Lenin's view that only the working class allied to the poorest peasantry and the working people of town and country can make a socialist revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The victory of the October Revolution revealed the far-reaching consequences of the fact that the working class had seized power, a class whose main interests coincide with those of the other toiling strata. It is only this most revolutionary class of our time that is most fully interested in the elimination of the rule of the exploiting classes as described in the monograph by I. Ye. Vorozheykin and S. L. Senyavskiy "Rabochiy Klass -- Vedushchaya Sila Sovetskogo Obshchestva" [The Working Class -- Leading Force of the Soviet Society] (Mysl') and other works that could insure the type of scope and pace in building the new society unknown to history.

The development of the problem of the role of the working class in the building of socialism in previously backward areas convincingly proves the universal nature of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the universal-historical mission of the proletariat. Such a study may be found in the book by L. Ye. Repida "Rol' Rabocheho Klassa v Stroitel'stve Sotsializma v Moldavskoy SSR" [Role of the Working Class in the Building of Socialism in the Moldavian SSR] (Shtiintsa). The factual and statistical data gathered and classified by the author present a panoramic view of the many-sided activities of the Moldavian working class showing the way, with the party members in the vanguard, it implemented the role of leading force in the building of socialism.

The anniversary publications disseminating the ideas of the 25th CPSU Congress discuss the interaction among technical, economic, social, political, and spiritual factors insuring the great upsurge of the national economy of the developed socialist society and develop problems of upgrading effectiveness and quality; they sum up practical experience and earmark ways for improving the organization of the socialist competition.

The monograph "Ekonomika Razvitogo Sotsialisticheskogo Obshchestva" [Economics of the Developed Socialist Society] (Ekonomika) studies the establishment of the criteria of mature socialism and the socioeconomic problems of labor; it presents the theoretical aspects of the establishment of the material and technical base of communism, etc. The advantages of the socialist economic management system are clearly presented also in the following reference books: "Sovetskiy Soyuz" [Soviet Union], and "60 Pobednykh Let. Tsifry i Fakty" [Sixty Victorious Years. Figures and Facts] (Politizdat) and other works.

The book "Agrarnaya Politika KPSS. Opyt i Aktual'nyye Problemy" [CPSU Agrarian Policy. Experience and Topical Problems] published by Izdatel'stvo Kolos discusses the experience of the party organizations in implementing the comprehensive program for the development of agriculture elaborated at the March 1965 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 23rd, 24th, and 25th party congresses. The work deals extensively with the experience of union republics and many oblasts and krais in the specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of interfarm cooperation and agroindustrial integration, increasing the production of grain, cotton, and animal husbandry products, upgrading agricultural production effectiveness, implementing the agricultural development program in the Nonchernozem zone of the RSFSR, and improving the planning and management of agricultural production.

The collection "Kazakhstanskiy Milliard-76" [Kazakhstan Billion-76] (Kazakhstan) describes the tremendous mass political work done by the Kazakhstan party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organizations aimed at upgrading the republic's agricultural output. The collection carries materials on Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's trip to Kazakhstan, his speech at the conference of the republic's party-economic aktiv, and articles by writers and journalists.

One of the books describing the outstanding victories achieved by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Leninist party is the monograph "Na Puti k Razvitiyu Sotsializmu" [On the Path of Developed Socialism] (Uzbekistan), covering the 1938-1958 period. It was prepared by the party history institutes of Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenia, and Uzbekistan. The book shows the way profound quality changes, high level of production forces, and steady growth of economic potential characterizing the present level of development of the material production of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan lead to a considerable increase of their share of the joint labor of the fraternal peoples of the USSR.

Let us also note the book by V. Klauson "Gody Sozidaniya" [Constructive Years] (Periodika). This is a worthy rebuttal of the fabrications of reactionary historians and Estonian anti-Soviet emigres. The author describes the resolve with which the proletariat and the poorest Estonian peasantry, guided by the bolsheviks, seized the power the second day of the October Revolution in Petrograd. He describes in detail the contribution of the Estonian SSR to the common cause of the building of communism in the Soviet state.

The successful creation of a developed socialist society in our country under the leadership of the CPSU with the leading role of the working class made possible the all-round revelation of the advantages of the new social system in all fields of life. Major successes were achieved in the development of socialist democracy as well, codified in the outstanding document of our epoch -- the USSR Constitution.

It was symbolic that the Soviet people discussed and adopted the new constitution precisely during the anniversary year. The constitution was the result of the effort of the collective mind of the people and the party. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, personally played a tremendous role in its formulation. The constitution was printed in thousands of copies in Russian and the other languages of the peoples of the USSR.

The conversion from a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat to a state of the whole people and the greatest possible participation of the people's masses in all aspects of social and governmental activities in our country is the main topic of works published by Izdatel'stvo Yuridicheskaya Literatura: "Sotsializm i Gosudarstvo" [Socialism and the State] by A. P. Kositsyn; "Sovetskiy Federalizm" [Soviet Federalism] by A. I. Lepeshkin; and "60 Let Sovetskoy Gosudarstvennosti. K 60-Letiyu Sovetskoy Vasti" [Sixty Years of Soviet Statehood. On the Occasion of the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Soviet System] by L. A. Grigoryan. The authors prove that at all stages of the struggle for the building of socialism and communism our party has ascribed tremendous importance to the implementation of the Leninist principles of Soviet statehood and to the systematic development of socialist democracy. It has always been concerned with the observance of the broadest possible range of rights granted to the Soviet people as a result of the victory of the October Revolution.

As P. A. Rodionov especially points out in his book "Kollektivnost' -- Vysshiy Printsip Partiynogo Rukovodstva" [Collectivism -- Supreme Principle of Party Management] (Politizdat), the party has always studied profoundly and thoroughly the positive experience. It has exposed the reasons for and decisively corrected deviations from Leninist norms and principles of party life.

Socialist democracy is in a process of continuing enrichment of its content, forms, and institutions. The collective work by scientists from the fraternal countries "Sotsializm i Demokratiya" [Socialism and Democracy] (Yuridicheskaya Literatura) discusses the laws of its development and ways of improvement, and sums up the experience of a number of socialist states in strengthening true democracy further.

The Great October Revolution was the prime cause for the establishment of a previously unknown way of life. The Soviet socialist way of life is an essentially new and higher type of social human activities, a way of life which focuses on the working man and on sensible material and spiritual requirements. The books "Sotsialisticheskiy Obraz Zhizni" [The Socialist Way of Life] and "Sotsialisticheskiy Obraz Zhizni i Sovremennaya Ideologicheskaya Bor'ba" [The Socialist Way of Life and the Contemporary Ideological Struggle] (Politizdat) depict the economic, political, cultural, and moral aspects of the socialist way of life and prove its superiority over the capitalist way of life.

The monograph N. F. Kapich "Po Zavetam Velikogo Lenina" [Following the Great Lenin's Legacy] (Belarus') describes the CPSU's management of the process of shaping the Soviet socialist way of life and the education of the new man.

Having created a powerful economy, the Soviet system gave the people not only a high level of material prosperity but the greatest wealth of spiritual culture. The main value of the socialist society is the Soviet person, boundlessly loyal to the noble Marxist-Leninist ideals. The books by A. V. Myalkin "Sotsial'nyy Portret Sovetskogo Rabochego. Osnovnyye Cherty. Protsess Formirovaniya" [Social Portrait of the Soviet Worker. Basic Features. Shaping Process] (Profizdat), and P. I. Simush "Sotsial'nyy Portret Sovetskogo Krest'yanstva" [Social Portrait of the Soviet Peasantry] (Politizdat) discuss the fact that the Soviet working person combines ideological convictions with tremendous creative energy, high culture, big knowledge, and readiness to dedicate all efforts to the common cause.

A new historical community--the Soviet people--has been established and has become reality in our country. It is based on the socialist ownership of capital goods, a single Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the common interests and communist ideals of the working class. This is the topic of the book "Novaya Istoricheskaya Obshchnost' Lyudey: Sushchnost', Formirovaniye, Razvitiye" [The New Historical Community of People: Nature, Establishment, Development] (Mysl').

One of the greatest achievements of the October Revolution was the establishment of relations of fraternal friendship and comradely cooperation among the peoples of our multinational country. This is the topic of a series of publications entitled "The Great Destiny of Small Peoples" published by ten publishing houses in Siberia and the far east, the collection "My--Sovetskiy Narod" [We are the Soviet People] (Rostovskoye Knizhnoye Izdatel'stvo and a number of publishing houses in the northern Caucasus), and the book by T. Khydyrov "Bratskaya Druzhba Narodov--Velikoye Zavoyevaniye Oktyabrya" [Fraternal Friendship among the Peoples--the Great Accomplishment of the October Revolution] (Turkmenistan). These books particularly focus on the conversion of a number of peoples in our country from feudalism to socialism, bypassing capitalism.

The collection "The V Sem'ye Yedinoy" [Within a Single Family] (Politizdat Ukrainy) describes the fraternal unity and mutual aid among the working people of the Ukraine and the other union republics, and the activities of the party organizations for the development of new social traditions and strengthening the internationalist awareness of the masses. The authors--party workers of a number of competing rayons and oblasts in the RSFSR, Ukraine, Belorussia, and Moldavia--describe with specific data the comprehensive and objective process of the intensification of international relations, and the favorable influence which the exchange of experience in party and economic work has on improving the style and methods of management. The book focuses on the socialist competition among oblasts, cities,

rayons, and production collectives of various republics as an inseparable aspect of the new type of relations among people in the course of constructive labor.

The topic of fraternal cooperation among the peoples of the USSR is treated in the monograph by T. U. Usubaliyev "Druzhba Narodov--Nashe Bestsennoye Zavoyevaniye" [Friendship among the Peoples is Our Priceless Acquisition] (Politizdat). The author comprehensively analyzes the processes of the establishment and strengthening of the friendship among the peoples of the USSR in all realms of social life. In his book "V Sem'ye Yedinoi i Velikoy" [In a United and Great Family] (Irfon) Kh. Gadoyev describes the help given by the RSFSR and the other union republics to the Tadzhik people in the building of socialism. Rich specific historical data enabled the author to describe the ways and means of cooperation among the peoples of the USSR in the building of socialism, and the role and significance of the comprehensive aid given by the Russian people to the working people of Tadzhikistan in the accelerated elimination of past backwardness, and the development of their economy, Soviet national statehood, and a national culture of socialist content.

The international solidarity of the working people is the essence of CPSU ideology and politics in the field of relations among nations. The October Revolution gave all nations and nationalities in our country equal political rights and real possibilities for free national development. The new constitution resolves problems of national-governmental structure on the basis of the truly democratic combination of the joint interests of the multinational Soviet Union and the interests of each of its constituent republics with a view to the all-round prosperity and steady rapprochement among all nations and nationalities of the USSR.

Using extensive documentary data, the book by B. Dzhamgerchinov "Soyuz Ravnopravnykh" [Union among Equals] (Kyrgyzstan) describes the implementation of the Leninist national policy in the first years of the Soviet system and the founding of the USSR, the development of fraternal friendship and the cultural and economic blossoming of the republics of our country, including the Kirgiz SSR.

The publishing house of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences published the work "Velikiy Oktyabr' i Natsional'nyy Vopros" [The Great October and the National Problem] which studies in the light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress the place and role of the national problem in the strategy of the Bolshevik Party in the period of preparations for and making of the socialist revolution and in the building of the new society.

A number of works discuss the role of the October Revolution in the progressive development of mankind. The book "Vliyaniye Velikogo Oktyabrya na Razvitiye Mirovogo Kommunisticheskogo Dvizheniya" [The Influence of the Great October on the Development of the World Communist Movement] (Politizdat) presents a grandiose view of the radical change in the ratio of forces in the world arena in favor of socialism. It was written by known

scientists from the socialist countries and leaders of the communist movement of capitalist and liberated countries. The book depicts the way the communist movement, born in the flames of revolutionary battles inspired by the October Revolution and Lenin's ideas, has now become the most widespread and organized combat force. The organic link between the October Revolution and the world revolutionary movement is discussed in K. I. Zarodov's book "Tri Revolyutsii v Rossii i Nashe Vremya" [Three Revolutions in Russia in Our Time] (Mysl').

The ideas of the October Revolution had a decisive influence on the development of the world's revolutionary process. The laws of the Socialist Revolution and the historical experience of the CPSU were confirmed and enriched by the transition to socialism of a number of countries in Europe, Asia, and America. Many works point out that the growth of the power and the increased fraternal friendship among the members of the socialist community and the strengthening of their unity have turned it into a powerful contemporary factor. Today no single major problem of international relations can be resolved without the participation of the socialist states which firmly support freedom and peace and the security of the nations.

The Great October Socialist Revolution inaugurated a new epoch in the struggle for peace and marked "the first victory in the cause of the elimination of wars" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln Sobr Soch" [Completed Collected Works], Vol 44, p 149). This concept has been confirmed by the entire history of the Soviet state in the six decades since the publication of Lenin's Decree on Peace.

The struggle for peace does not mean a weakening of the efforts in the defense of the homeland of the October Revolution. The works published on the occasion of the anniversary describe the selfless defense of the first socialist state from the pressure of the counter-revolution and the international imperialist reaction. The party has always been guided by Lenin's instruction that "a revolution is worth something only if it is able to defend itself" ("Poln Sobr Soch," Vol 37, p 122). This thought runs throughout the book "V. I. Lenin. O Zashchite Sotsialisticheskogo Otechestva" [V. I. Lenin. On the Defense of the Socialist Fatherland] (Voyenizdat), the book by G. V. Kuz'manin "Razgrom Interventov i Belogvardeytsev v 1917-1922 gg." [Defeat of the Intervention and the White Guards in 1917-1922] (Voyenizdat), and others.

The content of international relations in the epoch of transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism is determined by the constant and uncompromising struggle between two opposite social systems, and between the forces of progress and reaction. The two-volume "Istoriya Vneshney Politiki SSSR 1917-1976" [History of USSR Foreign Policy 1917-1976] (Nauka), whose new edition was edited by A. A. Gromyko and B. N. Ponomarev, convincingly proves how systematically and steadfastly the Soviet state is implementing the Leninist foreign political course. This noble activity is also the topic of the book by V. G. Trukhanovskiy "60 Let Bor'by SSSR za Mir i Sotrudnichestvo Mezhdru Narodami" [60 Years of USSR Struggle for

Peace and Cooperation among Nations] (Mezhdunarodnyye Otnosheniya), and other works.

The USSR is firmly following the Leninist policy of peace. It favors strengthening the security of the nations and extensive international cooperation. The content of the final act of the Helsinki conference was made known to the broadest possible circles of Soviet society immediately after the conference. The publishing houses also published a number of books and pamphlets explaining the basic stipulations of the final act, and showing the total consistency of the foreign political activities of our country and the other socialist states with the spirit of the Helsinki agreements. Noteworthy among them is the book "Ot Khel'sinki do Belgrada. Sovetskiy Soyuz i Osushchestvleniye Zaklyuchitel'nogo Akta Obshcheyevropeyskogo Soveschaniya. Dokumenty i Materialy" [From Helsinki to Belgrade. The Soviet Union and the Implementation of the Final Act of the All-European Conference. Documents and Materials] (Politizdat).

The exhibit of books by foreign authors published in the USSR between 1917 and 1977, held last July in Moscow, was a way of reporting by our publishers to the Soviet and foreign public on the activities aimed at the implementation of the Helsinki Accord in the field of book exchanges. In the past 60 years our country has published the works of authors from 136 countries, translated from 151 languages. This totalled over 173,000 titles published in over 2,060,000,000 copies.

The first Moscow international book fair-exhibit, held last September met with a broad response. It involved the participation of 1,535 publishing and book trading organizations from 67 countries, including nearly all countries which attended the Helsinki Conference. The fair was an unquestionable commercial success. An even greater result of this meeting among book publishers and distributors, held in Moscow, was the establishment of a solid base for future fruitful relations.

The past 60 years have proved that the historical accomplishments of the October Revolution enriched the theory of Marxism-Leninism with new concepts and broadened widely the horizons of the world's revolutionary practice. The experience of the first country of victorious socialism in the world confirmed the universal significance of the basic laws of the socialist revolution and the building of a socialist society, and proved the need for their creative application in accordance with the specific characteristics of the individual countries.

Bourgeois propaganda is tirelessly trying to distort the history and lessons of the October Revolution and the Marxist-Leninist theory of social development. The Soviet social scientists are rebuffing properly the attempts of reactionary ideologues. The work "Istoricheskiy Opyt Velikogo Oktyabrya i Kritika Burzhuaznoy Istoriografii" [The Historical Experience of the Great October and Criticism of Bourgeois Historiography] (Mysl') exposes the distortion of the Leninist views of the motive forces of the

socialist revolution, and the leading role of the proletariat and the party's guidance of the revolutionary process. The monograph by A. P. Petrov "Kritika Fal'sifikatsii Agrarna-Krest'yanskogo Voprosa v Trekh Russkikh Revolyutsiykh" [Critique of the Falsification of the Agrarian-Peasant Problem in the Three Russian Revolutions] (Mysl') debunks the efforts of bourgeois ideologues to distort the party's agrarian policy and discredit the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

Even such a short description of the main directions and topics of works published on the occasion of the anniversary convincingly proves the tremendous role played by books in the dissemination of the ideas and accomplishments of the October Revolution.

At the 25th CPSU Congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev faced social science with responsible tasks, emphasizing that only a link with practice could enhance its effectiveness. Naturally, these tasks face the Soviet book publishers as well. Maintaining close creative cooperation with the social scientists, they try to present promptly to the readers everything valuable created in this field. The publication of such anniversary works confirms that publishers and printers, like all Soviet people, are properly noting the 60th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

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[Review by T. Boleslavskiy of the book by I. Kh. Yunak "Vospitaniye Sotsialisticheskoy Distsipliny Truda" [Developing Socialist Labor Discipline]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1977, 223 pp]

[Text] This important problem is discussed in the work I. Kh. Yunak, first secretary of Tul'skaya Oblast CPSU Committee. The book offers a critical study of the experience in organizational and educational activities gained by the oblast party organization in the course of the implementation of the December 1966 CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Party Organizations of Tul'skaya Oblast in Developing Socialist Labor Discipline in Collectives of Industrial Enterprises and Construction Sites," whose ideas and stipulations were then reflected in decisions passed at CPSU congresses and in other party documents. The work contains a number of instructive examples from the life of labor collectives and party organizations and local party committees; it describes real people--workers, foremen, and engineering-technical and party workers; it is an attempt to synthesize theory and practice, describe thoroughly progressive experience, and discuss frankly shortcomings not entirely eliminated yet.

The problem of labor discipline, the author emphasizes, has economic, political, domestic, and international importance. It is related to the solution of the main problems of the building of communism: The creation of the material and technical foundations of communism, the improvement of social relations, and the shaping of the new man. It determines one of the most important directions of the party's work among the masses. The author emphasizes that V. I. Lenin considered the creation of a new discipline a no less difficult task facing the working class than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, for its solution calls for defeating "one's own sluggishness, slackness, and petit bourgeois egotism, and habits which accursed capitalism has bequeathed to the worker and the peasant" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 5). Lenin cautioned that the solution of this problem is impossible through a one-time act. Long years, decades, of work are necessary. Under conditions in which a socialist production method has been established and a new organization of social labor which, according to

Vladimir Il'ich, will be based further and further on free and conscientious discipline on the part of the working people, many of its educational problems have been already resolved. Nevertheless, even wherever the best possible results have been achieved the party and the other social organizations retain a broad field of action.

The author proves that the CPSU is developing the Leninist ideas of socialist discipline and the ways and means for its shaping taking into consideration specific historical circumstances. This is equally its approach at the present stage when it takes into consideration the entire set of economic, political, and social tasks facing society. The party elaborates economic, organizational, and educational measures consistent with the time with a view to insuring the further strengthening of socialist discipline and organization. It considers this an important prerequisite for the development of Soviet democracy and for the observance of the Soviet Constitution which proclaims the right of USSR citizens to work and makes a duty for every able bodied citizen to work honestly and conscientiously and to observe the labor discipline.

As we know, in the process of the nationwide discussion of the draft of the new constitution a number of important suggestions were made by workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, and state and public figures on vital problems such as labor education and strengthening socialist labor discipline. A number of them were included in the final draft of the constitution and many others will be used to improve labor legislation and become a structural part of collective contracts concluded at enterprises, as well as corresponding decisions adopted by labor collectives and regulations elaborated by local soviet and administrative organs.

The following fact cited in the book is noteworthy in this connection. On the initiative of the labor collectives of a number of enterprises in Tul'skaya Oblast decrees were passed aimed at strengthening the labor discipline and aimed against absenteeists and parasites. This has already begun to yield a positive influence. However, the presidium of the oblast trade unions council, failing to understand the nature of the matter, erroneously assessed these decrees, considering them an encroachment on the rights and interests of the working people. The CPSU Central Committee made clear the erroneousness of this view: Passing their decrees the labor collectives stemmed not from any selfish motivations but from the right of the conscientious workers to enjoy priority over those who violate the discipline, and from the right which is determined by the formula that "he who does not work does not eat."

"Comrades, we must always keep in mind all problems related to upgrading the labor discipline. We must not allow even a shade of formalistic approach to this most important problem," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. This statement, cited in the book, also determines the position of the oblast party organization in its approach to the elaboration of ways, directions, forms, and means of work aimed at strengthening labor and production discipline.

The reader will learn the way the work was improved following the CPSU Central Committee decree on Tul'skaya Oblast, the difficulties which had to be surmounted, and the erroneous steps that had to be abandoned. It traces the role of the oblast party committee and its plenums and bureau. The CPSU obkom is studying the local situation, disseminating progressive experience, and channeling together the activities of local soviets, and of party, trade union, and komsomol organizations. The reader will also benefit a great deal from the detailed description of the efforts to develop a socialist labor discipline at oblast enterprises such as the Shchekino Azot Production Association, the Zenit Association, and weapons, electric elements, and other plants in Tula, and in a number of construction and transportation organizations.

Covering a broad range of problems related to strengthening the labor discipline, the author describes the leading role of the collective and of its nucleus--the party organization--in the education of the workers, and the growing significance of the sociopolitical and educational aspects of the activities of production leaders ranging from the enterprise director to the foreman. He emphasizes the importance of the work being done in this connection in the selection of cadres and "educating the educators." Practical examples are given to describe the influence on strengthening the labor discipline of factors such as the scientific organization of labor, the application of the Shchekino method, the extensive participation of the workers in the management of social and production affairs, the development of tutorship, economic and political training, socialist competition, moral and material incentive, and the struggle for a healthy way of life. These problems are discussed in the separate chapters.

Positive experience in the promotion of socialist labor discipline has been acquired not only at urban enterprises but in kolkhozes and sovkhozes as well. This is described in one of the chapters in close connection with the solution of vital problems such as youth vocational guidance, and the training and educating of highly skilled cadres of mechanizers and livestock breeders in the farms.

The following question naturally arises: What has been the effectiveness of such work done in the oblast? The comparisons cited in the book are the answer. For example, in one decade working-time losses in industry declined 2.3 times; in the ninth five-year plan they declined by nearly one-third. Losses per worker are 42 percent lower than in the Russian Federation as a whole.

Nevertheless, the author writes with a certain concern that in connection with the steady increase in the cost of a working minute the absolute amount of non-produced goods remains high because of a variety of disciplinary violations. He emphasizes in this connection that we cannot rely on our achievements in the struggle for strengthening the labor discipline, as in anything else. That is why the oblast party committee directs the party and other organizations, on the one hand, to the creative utilization of established ways and means for strengthening the labor discipline and, on the other, the

all-round development of their initiative in the formulation of problems aimed at increasing the effectiveness of such efforts.

The party and statesmanlike approach of the author would have been manifested even more had he described the way the oblast party members are using the experience in developing labor discipline acquired by party organizations of other oblasts, krays, and republics, the more so since the book itself proves, once again, how useful it is to exchange among party committees experience in comprehensive activities, critically interpret achievements, and continue fruitful research with a view to upgrading the effectiveness of work among the masses.

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